A PLAINE PATH-VVAY TO PLANTATIONS:

That is,

A Diſcourſe in generall, concerning the Plantation of our Engliſh people in other Countries.

Wherein

Is declared, That the Attempts or Actions, in themſelues are very good and laudable, neceſſary alſo for our Country of *England*. Doubts thereabout are anſwered: and ſome meanes are ſhewed, by which the ſame may, in better ſort then hitherto, be proſecuted and effected.

Written

For the perſwading and ſtirring vp of the people of this Land, chiefly the poorer and common ſort to affect and effect theſe Attempts better then yet they doe. With certaine Motiues for a preſent Plantation in *New-found* land aboue the reſt.

Made in the manner of a Conference, and diuided into three Parts, for the more plainneſſe, eaſe, and delight to the Reader.

By

RICHARD EBVRNE of *Hengſtridge* in the Countie of *Somerſet*.

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989

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHERS IN GOD, AND HONOVRABLE LORDS, ARTHVR, LORD BISHOP OF Bathe and Wells, and ROBERT, Lord Bishop of *Bristol*, RICHARD EBVRNE wisheth all health and happinesse externall, internall and *eternall.*

COnsidering, (*Right Honourable*) and not without griefe of mind, & sorrow of heart, viewing the great miserie & encombrance of this our goodly countrie, the Countrie of *England* (which heretofore admirably flourished in plentie & prosperitie) by reason of the excessiue multitude of people which therein at this present doe swarme and superabound, the many faire Opportunities which God, in his gracious Prouidence, often hath, and at this instant doth offer vnto it, for a present, a speedie, and an infallible

remedie thereof: and yet the notorious neglect and wayward vnwillingnes of the people of this Land, our Engliſh Nation, to regard and accept ſuch Offers, and to ſeeke and take their own good: I thought I might doe a worke worth the labour, and (in all likelyhood) gratefull and vſefull to my Country and Countrimen, to write ſomething, (and the rather, for that none that I know, hath yet trauelled this way) that might ſtirre and encourage them, ſpecially the common and meaner ſort of them, as whom chiefly, and moſt of all it doth concerne, to make better vſe of theſe faire, worthy and neceſſary opportunities.

Whereupon I haue in a plaine and familiar manner, (as one that intended to ſubmit himſelfe to the capacitie and vnderſtanding, euen of the meaneſt, for whom ſpecially this my labour I intended.) Firſt, declared and iuſtified theſe kinde of Attempts, Plantations, to tend notably to the glory of Almightie God, the enlargement of the Kings Maieſties Dominions, and the manifold and ineſtimable benefit of this whole Land, the Realme of *England*; and to bee in their owne nature lawfull and iuſt, ancient and vſuall. Secondly, I haue ſhewed ſome particular meanes, or inferiour courſes, how and whereby, both men and mony,

The ſumme of the whole Treatiſe.

money, the two principall things that muſt plentifully be had for Plantations, may eaſily and ſpeedily be raiſed and procured in and out of our Land for this purpoſe. And thirdly, I haue giuen and ſet downe ſome particular Inſtructions and obſeruations touching theſe Actions, not vnworthy happely the Notion and Conſideration of many ſuch as yet are little acquainted with them; and added ſome ſpeciall *Motiues*, for a preſent Plantation in *New-found-Land*, before and aboue any other place of Plantation yet attempted. Withal, in euery of theſe paſſages, I haue anſwered all ſuch, either *reall* (or rather *Regionall*) or *perſonall Obiections*, as commonly are made againſt the enterprizes themſelues, why they ſhould not be regarded, or by perſons that ſhould employ themſelues in the enterprizes, why they ſhould not aduenture therein?

Theſe plaine, but I hope plauſible and profitable Labours of mine, I am bold, and humbly deſire your Lordſhips both, that I may be bold to preſent to the open view and conſideration of this Land, vnder the Patronage & protection of your Honourable Names: The one of you being my much & worthily honoured Dioceſan; the other my worthy and fauourable Patron: both ſpeciall

Fautours of all good Learning, and furtherers of all goodly Indeuours; and therefore, ſuch as I hope and preſume will vouchſafe theſe Labours of mine, and theſe worthy, pious, and religious (if they be worthily, piouſly, & religiouſly handled) theſe notable Attempts, and for our Land at this preſent moſt neceſſarie and expedient, your beſt furtherance and countenance: not doubting but that thereby both my Indeuours ſhall the better be reſpected and receiued, and the Actions themſelues the more aduanced and followed, I ſhall be ſhielded from the malicious enuie of the carping Cauiller, that takes more delight, and can be content to beſtow more labor and time in deprauing what others haue done, then in ſetting forth and publiſhing, I ſay not any better, but any like and as good of his owne: and they (the Actions) ſhall be ſhrowded from the *canine* vnkindneſſe of thoſe lazie Lurdans that will neither take the good of them themſelues, nor ſuffer, by their good will, any other to doe it.

One reaſon more particular hath moued me to tender to your Lordſhips theſe my Labours, and that is, for that the one of you is reſident in that Citie, as in his proper and *Epiſcopal Sea*: the other in the next neighboring both Citie and Country, which

which either by it ſelfe in generall, or by a certaine number of the worſhipfull Citizens thereof, in particular, hath alreadie begun, and at this preſent continueth a Plantation in *New-found-Land*: which I therefore hope will be an occaſion that may moue your good Lordſhips both, this way to doe to the Places of your owne aboad (which truly by reaſon of the number of people, wherewith they are cloyed and ouerlaid, doe as greatly need theſe helps, as any Cities or Counties in *England*) much good and benefit. Which thing, I am perſwaded, you may eaſily and greatly effect, if you will be pleaſed, but to ſhew your ſelues in countenancing and aſſiſting me and others, that doe and will employ our ſelues in them, to approue and fauour, to allow and like of theſe kind of Labours and Indeuours, and namely, that wherein your owne people and ſo neere Neighbours are alreadie ſo farre intereſſed and proceeded.

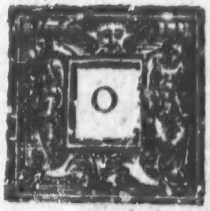
The Lord *Ieſus, the high Biſhop of our Soules*, vouchſafe vnto your Lordſhips, whom he hath called to be *Principall Paſtors* in this his Church of England, ſuch plentifull ſtore of his Heauenly gifts, and ſo guide you by his Holy Spirit, that

that you may ſincerely ſet forth his Goſpel, and ſeeke his Glory in this World, and in the World to come be crowned by him with Celeſtiall and eternall Glorie. *Amen.*

Your Honourable Lordſhips
euer to command in the Worke of the Lord,

RICHARD EBVRNE.

TO THE CVRTEOVS AND Christian READERS, especially the Common-People of this Realme of ENGLAND.



Other men, diuers, haue laboured seuerally in describing and commending, one this Countrey, another that: as Captaine Whitbourne, New-found-Land; *Captaine* Smith, *his* New-England; *Master* Harecourt, Guiana; *and some others, more then one or two,* Virginia. *And euerie of them hath vsed sundry Motiues for the aduancement of a Plantation, in the place by him most affected; all tending to this maine end:* To moue our people of England, to plant themselues abroad, and free themselues of that penurie and perill of want, wherein they liue at home. *But none that I know hath handled the point in generall, viz. to shew the benefit and the good; the lawfulnesse and the ancient and frequent vse; the facilitie and necessitie (that is indeed, if I may so speake,* the Doctrine) *of Plantations. That taske therefore, haue I vndertaken, which how I haue performed, I leaue to others to iudge; requesting this at your hands (beneuolent and curteous Readers) that you obserue and consider: First, That I am the first that hath broken this Ice, and searched out this way; and that therefore it must needs be to me more rough and rude, then if I had passed a smooth water, and gone along in an vsuall and beaten path. Secondly, That my whole purpose and intent is, principally and specially to doe some good this way, for and with the meaner sort of our people: to whose capacitie therefore, it was fit, and more then fit, necessarie, that I should fit and frame my speech. That obserued, I doubt not but you will, not onely beare with, but also approue of my plainnesse, as best befitting my purpose to worke; and my subiect to worke vpon: the more learned and iudicious sort, I freely and ingeniously acknowledge my selfe more desirous to haue my Teachers and directeurs in this kind of Learning, then my Readers and Followers.*

If any thinke it a point beyond my Compasse, for a Diuine by Profession, to deale with an argument of this Nature, viz. to intreat

of Plantations, *which are commonly taken to be a matter altogether of Temporall and Secular right. Let him be pleased to know: First, That I am not alone, nor the first in this attempt, but haue for my president the precedent examples of some farre before me in Learning and Knowledge; as* Master Hackluit, *who long since wrote a great Volumne of* English Voiages, *Master* Crashaw *in* England, *and Master* Whitaker *in* Virginia; *who haue both employed their Pens and paines for that Plantation.*

Secondly, That Plantations are Actions wherein we also of the Cleargie are as farre interessed as any other. They are as free for vs, as for others: and, if men will haue any hope that they shall prosper in their hands, we must haue a distinct part, a certaine share, and Cleargie-like Portion in them, as well as men of other places and qualities haue theirs. And therefore, to write and discourse of, and for them, it behoueth, and becommeth vs of the Cleargie, as well, and as much as any other.

Thirdly, That one proper, and principall end of Plantations, is, or should be, the enlargement of Christs Church *on Earth; and the publishing of his Gospell to the Sons of Men: and therefore in that respect, it cannot but properly and directly belong vnto them, to whom* Christ *hath giuen commandement and authority aboue others to take care of his Flock; to seeke the furtherance of the Gospel, and to sound forth the glad tidings of Saluation to all Nations, to be principall Agents therein, and speciall furtherers thereof.*

That my proofes and examples are most out of the Bible *and Sacred Histories, I haue done it of purpose, not onely because they are with me most familiar and of best authoritie, but because they should be so with all Christians; euen the Lay sort likewise. As I am not of the Papists opinion, that is,* to care little for the Scripture: *so I like not to be of the Popish fashion, which is, to fill the peoples eares with sound of the Names of Fathers, Councels, and others-like, which they nor are, nor can be acquainted with, but to let them heare little and see lesse the Word of God, in which they easily might, and certainly should be ripe and ready, and well both seene and read.*

Besides, for this present argument, it is so frequent in the Scriptures, that there is not any substantiall point thereabout, for, or of the which (because the practise thereof was verie much in those times)

times) there is not some, either precept or president to be found.

If I haue any where dissented from the common practice, and shewed some dislike of the ordinarie proceedings in these Projects, I desire but so farre to be borne with and accepted, as I bring good reason for it, and declare or intimate some iust and reasonable cause thereof.

Though I haue not presumed to set downe any certaine and regular platforme of a good and right Plantation, which happely to haue done, would haue seemed in me too much either boldnesse or rashnesse: yet thus much I presume to affirme of that I haue written, that if any will read and consider it well, he may, without any great labour, collect and find out a true and good platforme of such an Action.

I haue so answered many and most of the common Obiections made against and about these attempts, that out of, and by the same, an answer may likewise be shaped to any other obiection that lightly can be made there-against.

The whole I haue so drawne vnto certaine heads, and sorted againe into seuerall parts, as I thought might best accord with the matter handled, and be most likely to yeeld ease and delight to the Reader.

Wherein that I haue digested all into the forme of a Conference or Dialogue, hauing so many examples for it, and most of them from the best of all Ages, I am so far from fearing lest thereby I should offend any, that I presume rather, that in that point and paines aboue the rest, howsoeuer I be a little the larger, because of the Interlocution, I shall be the better accepted, my meaning and drift the sooner perceiued, and my Labours and Lines the oftner lookt vpon and perused.

And now, that I may reuert my speech to you my countrimen and friends, you, I say, of the meaner sort, for whose sake chiefly, out of the abundance of my ardent loue and feruent desire to doe you good, I haue put my selfe to all this paines, I haue vndertaken this worke. Be pleased, I pray you, to peruse, that is, to reade, and cause to be read to you, ouer and ouer this booke, which I haue written to you, and for you. The Argument whereof I intreat therein, is, of Plantations, *which howsoeuer attempted by many worthy, great, and honourable Personages, yet seeme little to bee accepted and respected of you, for whom, of all other, they are most necessary, and to whom properly they are intended.*

Looke vpon the miſerie and want wherein you doe, and abiding in England, *you cannot but liue. Looke vpon the plentie and felicitie, wherein going hence, you may liue. Preferre not powertie before riches, nor your perpetuall euill and wretchednesse, before perpetuall good & happines. Now is a time wherein you may do you and yours pitie, for euer, if you will. Now God doth offer you that Opportu-* good *with choice of place, to rid your ſelues from your preſent miſerie and diſtreſſe, which if you neglect to take, and refuſe, as hitherto you doe, to make vſe of and embrace, will neuer, happely can neuer be had againe.*

Beleeue not the idle tales and vaine ſpeeches of ſuch, as knowing not, and caring not to doe, either themſelues or other good, perſwade and tempt you to abide at home, that is, to dwell (as many of you doe) in famine and penurie, and to die in need and miſerie. Harken vnto me, read, heare, and conſider what I ſay for your better information, and to ſtirre vp and animate you to accept your good, while you may, and to ſtabliſh your Happineſſe, while Opportunitie ſerueth. Neuer can, or ſhall you doe it with leſſe labour and trauaile, with leſſe charge and expence, with leſſe perill and hurt, with leſſe trouble and incombrance then now you may. My words and ſpeeches are plaine and familiar, my reaſons and arguments are ſtrong and euident, and my anſwers to the vaine Obiections of the contrary minded are ſound & ſolid. Let truth take place within you, let reaſon moue, and let euidence of the cauſe ſway and ſettle you.

Bee not too much in loue with that countrie wherein you were borne, that countrie which bearing you, yet cannot breed you, but ſeemeth, and is indeed, weary of you. Shee accounts you a burthen to her, and encombrance of her. You keepe her downe, you hurt her and make her poore & bare, and together with your owne, you worke and cauſe, by tarrying within her, her miſery and decay, her ruine and vndoing. Take and reckon that for your Country where you may beſt liue and thriue. Straine not no more to leaue that Country wherein you cannot proue and proſper, then you doe to leaue your fathers houſes, and the pariſh wherein you were borne and bred vp, for fitter places and habitations.

And if you will needs liue in England, *imagine all that to bee* England *where Engliſh men, where Engliſh people, you with them, and they with you, doe dwell. (And it be the people that makes*

the

the Land Engliſh, not the Land the people.) So you may finde England, *and an happy* England *too, where now is, as I may ſay,* no Land, *and the bounds of this Land, of* England, *by remouing of your ſelues, and others the people of this Land, to bee ſpeedily and wonderfully remoued, enlarged and extended into thoſe parts of the world, where once the Name of* England *was not heard of, and whereon the foot of an Engliſh man (till of late) had not troden.*

Be not ſo vaine-minded or weake-hearted as to thinke or beleeue that you ſhall doe better in this England *with little or nothing, then in any other with ſomething: here with an houſe and a backeſide, then otherwhere with fortie or threeſcore, with one or two hundred acres of ground. It is the meanes and not the place that keepes and maintaines men well or ill. And Engliſhmen aboue many others are worſt able to liue with a little.*

Know and conſider, that as it is the ſame Sunne that ſhineth there, as well as here, ſo it is the ſame God, *(that God in whoſe name you are baptized, in whoſe Church you haue, and doe, and ſhall liue, whoſe ſeruants you that remoue are, ſhall, and may be as well as they that remoue not)* that God, *I ſay, that ruleth and guideth all things there as well as here. And doubt ye not, but that if you feare and ſerue him there, if there you keepe his commandements and walke in his wayes, as here you haue beene, and there you ſhall ſtil be taught and directed. (For the Arke of God, and the ſonnes of* Aaron *and ſeed of* Leui, *muſt and will goe ouer with you.) The hand of his all-guiding Prouidence, will be ſtretched out vnto you, and the eye of his all-ſauing mercie, no leſſe there then here will looke vpon you. For,* God is nigh vnto all thoſe that call vpon him, yea, all thoſe that call vpon him faithfully, Pſalm. 145. 38. *whereſoeuer it be. Reade ouer and peruſe often (*good Brethren*) the* 107. Pſalm. *and the* 139. *They will teach you moſt plainly, plentifully and comfortably, that by Sea and Land, far off and neere, in one part of the world as well as in another, the Lord is at hand,* (for he is Lord of all) *he ſeeth and beholdeth all the ſonnes of men, and defendeth and prouideth for all that be his. To whoſe fatherly tuition, and merciſull protection, betaking and commending your ſelues, feare not to follow him whither ſoeuer he calleth, and deferre not to accept his bountifull riches and goodly gifts whereſoeuer hee preſenteth and offereth them vnto you, no more then did* Abraham

and Sara, Isaac *and* Rebecca, Iacob *and many other famous, godly, and holy Patriarkes and persons, when God commanded them, to forsake their kindred and their fathers house, and* to goe into that land which he should shew them: *whose sonnes and daughters you shall be made, if you also walke in their steps,* doing well, and not being dismaid with any feare. *But of these things, I haue spoken more at large in my Booke, to the reading whereof I will now remit and leaue you.*

Your Companion in one or other Plantation, if the Lord will:

RICHARD EBVRNE.

The Summe or principall Contents of the whole Booke.

The first Part.

WHerein is declared. 1. What profit may come by reading ſuch Booke as concerne Plantations. page 2. See alſo part 3 page 190.

2 That Plantatations are Actions very commendable and neceſſary. p.3

3 That by them the Church of Chriſt may notably be enlarged, partly by the Addition of other Countries to Chriſtendome. p.4

And partly by the Conuerſion of infinite heathens to the Chriſtian faith. Ibidem.

To whom the Goſpell muſt be preached before the end can be, p.7

The Papiſts haue endeuoured much this way. p.4

4 That by Plantations the Dominions and Maieſtie of the Kings of *England* may much be augmented. p.8

5 That the good of this Land may notably be thereby procured. p 9.

viz. In the

1 Eaſier ſupportation of the regall eſtate. ibid.

2 Ridding out of the Land the ouer great and ſuperfluous multitude thereof. ibid.

3 Abating the exceſſiue high prices of all things to liue by. p.ibid

4 Enrichung the poorer ſort hence remoued. p.10

5 Amending the Trade and Traffique of Merchants. p.11

6 Rooting out Idleneſſe out of this Land. p.ibid

The fruits of Idleneſſe. p.16

An Obiection anſwered of Idlers. p.ibid

Another of Idlers remoued hence. p.14

6 That the practice of making Plantations, is a thing very lawfull. p.1.

And very vſuall and ancient. p.176

7 Certaine Obiections commonly made againſt Plantations are anſwered. as,

1 Of the diſtance of the place. p.18

2 The wildneſſe and deſolateneſſe of the Countries. p.19

There that Tents may ſerue for houſing for a time. p.20

3 The badneſſe and barreneſſe of the ſoiles. p.21

There, againſt the ſpoile of woods in thoſe Coutnries. p.23

4 The countries are full of wild Beaſts. p.24

There, what meanes may be vſed for profitable Cattell to be had and tranſported thither. p.26

5. The people there, rude and barbarous. p.28

6 The Aduentures very dangerous. p.29.30.31

7 That ſmall profit, no wealth is there to be had. p.32.33.33.

There, what great riches and liuings by all likelihood, are there to be had. p.34.35

There, Normandie and Aquitaine loſt in France, and when. p.36

That it will bee long time and much expenſe ſpent, Before any thing there to any purpoſe can be effected. p.37

The

The Contents.

The Summe of the ſecond Part.

Wherein is ſhewed. 1. That the beſt courſe to be taken for Plantations, is by Act of Parliament. pag. 46

2 Two things being principally neceſſarie to the working of Plantations, *viz. Men and Money.* What *Inferiour courſes* might be taken for the raiſing or procuring of both plentifully: that is, *Of Money.* 1 By Voluntaries. p.47

2 By perſonall Aduenturers. p.ibid. 2 By generall Collections. p.ibid.

4 By Hoſpital Mony. p.48. By monies giuen to the vſe of the poore. p.ibid.

6 By Moneys giuen to the vſe of the Church. p.49. 7 By Lotterie. p.ibid.

8 By ſome ratable Impoſition. p.50

9 By baſe Monies for thoſe purpoſes and places to be ſtamped. p.ibid.

10 By Gold and Siluer coynes alvered. p.52. 11 By frugall expences. p.53

An Extrauagant. p.54.

By godly parſimonie of the richer ſort at home. p.ibid.

Then *of Men.* 1 By Proclamation. 2 & 3 By good order for remouing. p.56

4 By prouiſion ſupplyed. p.57

5 By Vagrants. 6 By Priſoners. p.59.

7 Maimed Souldiers. 8 Cottagers. 9 Inmates. p.60.

10 Souldiers and Seruants. p.62

There what ſort of perſons are fitteſt for a Plantation. p.63

11 Miniſters of the Word. p.64

There how they may be prouided for. p.64.65

12 Scholemaſters and other Schollers. p.66

There, what meanes may be vſed for procuring *ſuch men to be goe ouer.* p.67

A notable Hiſtorie of the Conuerſion of certaine *Indians* in the time of *Aibanaſcious.* p.67

13 By men of name and note to be Gouernours. p.68

14 And that in the State Eccleſiaſticall as well as Temporall. p.69

15 That his Maieſtie would entitle himſelfe to that Countrey in which any Plantation ſhall be. p.70

Certaine Obiections anſwered: as,

1 The greatneſſe of the expenſes. p.72

2 The remouing of ſo many at once. p.ibid.

3 The weakning and impouerifhing of our Land. p.73

4 The waſt of the reuenues of the Crowne. p.78

The ſumme of the third Part.

5 Cauſes why Plantations proceed no better in England. *viz.*

1 The want of a generall reſolution thereto. p.90

2 The want of ſome good courſe for it. p.91

3 The great idleneſſe of our people, & lack of induſtrie. p.ibid.

4 The immoderate loue of their naturall Countrey. p.92

The Contents.

2 How many Plantations there be now in hand.
3 Whether all of them can be finiſhed. p.93
4 Which of them ſeemeth to be beſt to be ſet forward. p.94
5 How many waies to make a Plantation. p.95
There Planting by inuaſion diſliked. p.96
6 That Plantation and Inuaſion are ſomewhat like in ſome things, and how. p.ibid
There, what Celeritie is needfull in making a Plantation. p.100
7 Whether better to plant in an Iland or a Continent. p.101
8 Certaine motiues gathered out of Captaine *Whitburnes* booke, why *Newfound land* may be thought fitteſt for a preſent Plantation. p.104. 105. 106.
9 Certaine perſonall Obiections vſually made by ſuch as are vnwilling to goe in a Plantation, anſwered, as,
1 Of Agedneſſe.
2 Vn-vſuall for old men. p.109.
There whether old men and married, or young ſingle men be fitter for a Plantation. ibid.
3 Hard Trauelling by. p.100.
4 Of them that haue ſome good liuings here. p.111
5 That ſuch men doe not vſually goe. p.112
6 That women, mens wiues are not willing. p.114
10 To goe into one or other Plantation, *the Authour intendeth.* p.116

The end of the Contents.

Errata.

Page 6. line 4. for barren reade barbarian. page 15. line 5. for idle r. ſuch. p. 19. l. 6. for Iland *r.* Ireland. *p. 24. l. vlt. for employed r. enpeopled. p. 59. l. 19. for ſtealing r. filching. p. 61. l. 10. for poory r. poore. p. 62. li. 32. for of r. to. p. 64. l. for informed r. inforced. p. 65. l. 2. for diſtinted r. diſtincted. p. 110. l. 27. for hur r. hurt. p. 114. l. 7. for willingly r. willing. p. 115. l. 19. for approue reade proue.*

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A PLAINE PATH-WAY TO PLANTATIONS.

The first Part.

The Speakers be { *Respire*, a Farmer. / *Enrubie*, a Merchant.

Respire.

I Am very glad to see you in health (good Master Enrubie) *and hearing of your comming home, I am come to see you, and to salute you.*

Enrubie. I thanke you heartily for it, Neighbour *Respire*, and am glad to see you and the rest of my good Neighbours and friends here, to be also in good health. I pray you sit downe by me in this Harbour.

Resp. *That I would doe willingly, but that I doubt I shall be troublesome to you: for I see you are busie in reading some Booke, what-euer it be.*

Enr. That shall be no trouble to me, nor let to vs. For it is but to recreate my selfe withall, for want of better company and exercise.

Resp. *If it be for Recreation, then I hope it is some matter of delight and speciall obseruation.*

Enr. Yes indeed. It is a new and prettie Discourse of some of our new Plantations; namely, that in *N.*

Resp. *I maruaile what good or pleasure you should finde in such idle Bookes, fables I thinke, not worth the looking on.*

Enr. They are better then you yet vnderstand, I see: and therefore bee not you rash in condemning, least you be hastie also in repenting: for, *Ad pœnitendum properat, citò qui iudicat.* Hastie men (as they say) neuer lacke woe.

Resp. *Why? But doe you indeed find any good in reading such books, which I know of many to be but little regarded?*

Enr. Yea truly: and that I doubt not but you also shall acknowledge, before you depart from hence, if you haue the leisure to stay with me but a while.

Resp. *I haue lost more time then this ere now: and therefore for your good companies sake, I will, God willing, see the euent: and any great businesse to hasten me away at this time, I haue not, I pray you therefore tell me, what good you get by those Bookes?*

What profit may come by reading such books as concerne Plantations.

Enr. Besides the delight that comes by the noueltie of the contents thereof, and you know that, *Est natura hominum Nouitatis auida*: we are by nature much like the *Athenians* spoke of in the 17. the *Acts* of the Apostles, desirous very much to heare Newes: I doe reape thereby vnto my selfe this threefold benefit. First, I doe thereby after a sort, as blessed *Moses* from mount *Nebo*, *Deut.* 34. view and behold with the eyes of my minde *those goodly Countreys*, which there God doth (offer to) *giue vnto vs and to our seed.* Secondly, Thereby I am inabled with *Ioshua* and *Caleb*, *Num.* 14. to stop the mouthes, and confute the malice of them, that in my hearing, like the *ten vnfaithfull spies*, shall goe about to bring vp *an euill report* vpon those good lands, and stay the murmurings of such foolish & ignorant people, as vpon euery idle heare say, or any lazie vagrants letter, are ready to beleeue the worst: & withall, thirdly, I am the better prepared to informe them and others, that are willing to know the truth and certaintie thereof.

Resp. *I see there is good vse to be made of such bookes, if a man will. And therefore I shall from henceforth forbeare to thinke of them as I haue done: and I shall desire you to lend me that booke of yours for a day or two, that I may reade it ouer also.*

Enr. I

Enr. I shall willingly lend you this, and one after another, two or three more that I haue of the like argument. For I wish with all my heart, that both you and all my friends were as well acquainted in them as I am.

Resp. *I thanke you much for this courtesie. But seeing you make such vse & reckoning of those bookes, it seemes that you make more account of the actions themselues, that is, of Plantations, whereof they doe intreat, which yet I euer held, and so I know do many else, that be men of good wit and vnderstanding, to be but idle proiects and vaine attempts.*

Enr. Without any dislike or disparagement to any other mens wits or vnderstandings be it spoken, for mine own part I do professe, *I estimate & account the Actions themselues to be very good and godly, honourable, commendable, and necessary:* such as it were much to be wished might be, and much to be lamented they be not, in farre better sort, *then hitherto any of them are*, followed and furthered, as which tend highly, first, to the honour and glory of Almightie God. Secondly, to the Dignitie and Renowne of the Kings most excellent Maiestie. And thirdly, to the infinite good and benefit of this our Commonwealth. Three things, then which none weightier or worthier, can in any Designe or Proiect be leuelled or aimed at.

Plantations themselues are Actions very commendable necessarie, &c.

Resp. *You make me euen amazed, to heare of you, that so great good may be effected or expected out of those Courses, which of many are so much contemned and dispraised. Wherefore for my better satisfaction therein, I pray you, let me heare of you in particular somewhat, how these notable effects might be produced, and namely first, the Glory and Honour of God.*

Enr. The Glory of God cannot but be much furthered thereby, were it but onely, that the *Gospel of Christ* should thereby be professed and published in such places and countries, by those alone, that shall remoue from hence to inhabite there, where before, since the beginning of the Gospel, for ought we know, or is likely, it was neuer heard, at least professed, as it is now of late come to passe, (God be praised) and we hope will be shortly in Newfound land.

1. By them the Church of Christ may notably bee enlarged.

Resp. *Will be, say you? Me thinkes you should rather haue reckoned that among the first, because that for fiftie or threescore yeeres before euer the Summer Ilands or Virginia were heard of, our people did yeerely goe thither a fishing, and so the Name of Christ was*

there long since honoured among them.

Enr. But for all that, till there be *Christians* inhabiting there, wee cannot say properly, that the Gospell of Christ is planted there, or that it is any part of Christendome. It must therefore in that respect, giue place to the other before-named, as which indeed were *Christian* before it.

By the Addition of other Countries to Christendome.

Resp. I cannot dislike that you say. And indeed any man may see, that this must needs bee a great aduancement to the honour of God, when as the Scepter of his Sonne is extended so much further then it was, as is from hence to those remote and vnknowne Regions. Christendome will then be so much the larger. And it seemes to me it will be in a goodly order, seeing that as I vnderstand, from England to Newfoundland, and so to the Summer Ilands, and thence to Virginia, all is in one tract, no Turkish, no Heathen Countrie lying betweene. But proceed, I pray you.

And by the Conuersion of infinite heathens to Christanitie.

Enr. This is, as you see, greatly to the honour of God, but it will be much more, if when and where our people doe plant themselues in such countries where already are an infinite number of other people, all Sauages, Heathens, Infidels, Idolaters, &c: this in the Plantation may principally and speedily be laboured and intended, That by learning their languages, and teaching them ours, by training vp of their children, and by continuall and familiar conuerse and commerce with them, they may be drawne and induced, perswaded and brought to relinquish and renounce their owne Heathenisms, Idolatries, Blasphemies and Deuill-worships. And if (for that I take it cannot be denied) the Papists haue done much good that way, by spreading the Name of Christ, though but after their corrupt and superstitious manner, into so many vnknowne Nations that liued before altogether in the seruice and captiuitie of the deuill, (for *Better it is, that God bee serued a bad way, then no way at all.*) How much more good must it needs be, if the Name of the true God, *in a true and sound manner*, might there be published and spred abroad?

The Papists have much endeuoured this way.

To which purpose, I would to God, there were among vs, vs *Protestants*, that professe and haue a better Religion then they the *Papists*, one halfe of that zeale and desire to further and dispersе our good and sound Religion, as seemes to be among them for furthering and dispersing theirs. Which not found,

for

for our zeale is coldnesse, and our forwardnesse, backwardnesse in that behalfe, in respect of theirs, I need not say, *we may feare*; but rather, *we may assure our selues*, that they shall *rise against vs* in the day of Iudgement, *and condemne vs*. As they haue deserued, so let them haue the *Palme and Praise* in this point. For what other ends soeuer they proposed in their conquests and courses, questionlesse *Religion, the Christian faith*, according to their knowledge, was not the least, nor the last, since certaine it is, They neuer set foote in any Country, nor preuailed in any Coast, wherein they did not forth-with endeuour to root out *Paganisme*, and plant *Christianisme*, or leaue behinde them at least some Monuments and signes thereof.

And who can tell? (I speake this to prouoke ours the more withall) who can tell, I say, whether God hath euen therefore, as to *Iehu that rooted out Baal*, himselfe continuing to worship *Ieroboams Calues*, 2 *Reg.* 10. 30, 31. bestowed on them a great part of that successe in warres, increase in wealth, and honour on earth, which had we stood foorth in their stead, and gone before them, as we should, and might haue done; he would more admirably, happily, and abundantly, haue conferred on vs? For he that is so kinde to his enemies, what would he haue beene to his friends?

Resp. *I easily perceiue that this might redound not a little to the glorie of God, if the Conuersion of such People and Nations might be accomplished. Lord, How many thousands and millions of soules might so be saued, which now run headlong into hell! It were a glorious worke, imitating notably that of the blessed Apostles, which conuerted the world so long agoe, from dead Idols to serue the liuing God. And in so holy and religious a labour; I am sorry to heare that we should not be as forward as Papists, but that to be verified twixt vs and them also in this case, which our Sauior said in another: The children of this world are in their generation wiser then the children of light. But as I must needes confesse, that the worke were a worthy piece of worke, if it might be wrought, and that happy were our Land, if the children thereof might be made of God, Agents therein. So me thinkes, we had need to haue some assurance of the will of God, that it should be done. For as you know better then I can tell you; If the time of their Conuersion be not come; or if God, as he hath wrapped them hitherto in vnbeliefe, so he be not pleased nor determined to release them, to call them to the knowledge of his truth, and to manifest his Son vnto them as-*

all: our labour then will be but in vaine, and our attempt not pleasing, but displeasing in his sight.

It is Gods will to call them to the knowledge of his truth.

Enr. That God desireth and willeth his Name, his truth and Gospell by vs to be published in those Heathen and barren lands; the inclination and readinesse alone of those people and Nations may sufficiently assure vs, who as it were prepared of God, to receiue the Gospell *from our mouthes*, if it might be but sounded vnto them, doe euen of their owne accord offer themselues to be taught, suffer their children to bee baptized and instructed by vs; and, as weary of, and halfe seeing the grossenesse of their own abominations, and the goodnes of our obseruations doe make no great difficultie to peferre our Religion before theirs, and to confesse that it is God that we, and the deuill that they doe worship.

And their conuersion must be before the end of the world can be.

For my owne part, I am perswaded, that God will *instantly* haue them either by vs or by others, *if we will not*, called to the knowledge of his Truth, & turned from darknes to light, & from the power of *Satan, vnto God*; that so the words of our Sauiour may be fully fulfilled, who, *Math.* 24. 14. hath foretold vs, That *the Gospell*, before the end shall come, *must be preached throughout the whole world*: and *Mark.* 13. 10. *be published among all Nations*, which, howsoeuer most hold is long since accomplished, in that it either *now is*, or *heretofore hath beene preached to all*, or neere *all Nations of this vpper Continent*: yet I am now resolued, (let it bee my priuate errour, if I doe erre) that they will not bee fulfilled indeed, according to our Sauiours intent, vntill that vnto them also that *inhabit that other*, the vnder *Continent*, it be made manifest, which it seemeth vnto me, God doth now hasten to accomplish, in that within *our Age alone*, a great part thereof hath had the same, though corruptly, though imperfectly, brought vnto them.

Resp. *You doe well to say, that this is your owne priuate Opinion, for no man else, I thinke, is of that minde.*

Enr. Not many, it may be, but yet I assure you, I am not alone. For there was but few yeeres past, a Preacher in *Dorsetshire*, of some note and name, that in a Sermon of his intituled, *The Marigold and the Sun*, now extant in Print, page 40. vpon these words of his Text, *Luk.* 1. 79. *To giue light to them that sit in darkenesse, &c.* saith thus: *This light rising first from the Iewes, as from his East or Orient, is carried ouer all the world, and hath giuen light to*

vs

vs (English) that sate in darkenesse. Of his first rising reade Luke 24 47. *beginning* (saith our Sauiour there) *from Ierusalem. Hence sprung this blessed light first, and thence, besides his dispersion into other parts of the world, was carried ouer all Greece, Italy, Germany, France, and rose to vs also, and is now making day to the Indians and Antipodes. For the world shall not end, till he haue finished his Course, I meane, till, as the Euangelist Math. 24. 14. saith, The Gospell be preached in all the world, and be a testimony to all nations: and then shall the end come.* Thushe. D. *Keckerman* likewise, that famous professor of Arts and Learning, diuine and humane, in his *Manuduction to Theologie*, of late translated into English by my worthy friend Master *T. Vicars* Batchelour in Diuinitie, pag. 94. writes of this matter in this manner: *And doubtlesse towards the end of the world, the true Religion shall be in America: as God is now preparing way for it by the English and Low-Country Merchants, that, that of Christ may be fulfilled,* Math. 24. 14. *This Gospell of the Kingdome shall be preached through the whole world, for a Witnesse vnto all Nations, and then shall the end come. For God in all his works is wont to effect a thing successiuely, and therefore first he sends to those Nations some light of his Essence and Truth by the Papists, and afterward will make these things shine more clearely vnto them by the true and faithfull Ministers of the Gospell.* Thus farre he. D. Keckar. Dantiscan.

So that in their opinion, as well as mine, this is a worke that *must be done* before the end can be. Wherefore since it is a worke, and a most holy and necessary worke, which must be done, before the day, the great day of the Lord can come, I see not how we can, without sinne (having any thing to doe in those parts) withdraw our shoulder from this burthen, or with-hold our hand from this plough. And so much the more will the sinne be, by how much it is farre more easie for vs this to hold and vndergoe, then it was for those that did vndertake the like taske for vs, I meane, the Conuersion of our Ancestors and predecessors in this land, a people as rude and vntractable, at the least that way as these now, in as much as they were to preach and not to subdue: but wee may plant as well as preach, and may subdue as well as teach, whereby the Teachers shall need to feare no losse of goods or life, no prison nor sword, no famine or other *persecuting* distresse for the Gospels sake. Whose steps, if our Nation now, if our Countrimen in their intended Plantations among those Infidels would in any measure

measure follow, how many soules might they saue aliue? How many sinners might they conuert from going astray? How much might they ampliate the Kingdom of Christ in earth? aduance the name, glory, and worship [illegible]our; the onely true and euerlasting God? and prepare for themselues an abundant, or rather a superabundant heape of glory in heauen, according to that which is written, *Dan.* 12. 3. *They that be wise, shall shine as the firmament: and they that turne many vnto righteousnesse, shall shine as the starres for euer and euer?*

Resp. *That these courses tend to the glory of God, I plainly see and acknowledge: But how may they be to the renowne and benefit of the Kings most excellent Maiestie?*

2. By them the Maiestie and renowne of the Kings of England may be much augmented.

Enr. These could not but much augment and increase the Maiestie and renowne of our dread Soueraigne, if thereby his Dominion be extended, as it were into another world, into those remote parts of the earth, and his kingdomes be increased into many moe in number, by the Addition and Accesse of so many, so spacious, so goodly, so rich, and some so populous Countries and Prouinces, as are by these Beginnings offered vnto his hands.

We see the Euidence and certaintie of this Assumption as cleare as the Sun-shine at high Noone, in the person of the King of *Spaine*, whose Predecessours and Progenitors accepting that which others did refuse, and making better vse of such Opportunities, then any else haue done; he is thereby become *Lord*, not onely of Territories, almost innumerable, but also of Treasures and riches in them inestimable.

Whose Right thereto, and to the rest of that Continent, be it what it may be, cannot, I suppose, in any equitie or reason, be any sufficient Barre to any *Christian Prince*, why hee should not yet, by any lawfull and good meanes seize into his hands, and hold as in his owne right, whatsoeuer Countries and Ilands are not before *actually* inhabited or possessed by him the *Spaniard*, or some other Christian Prince or State. Of which sort, since yet there are many, it were much to be wished, That his Maiestie might in time, while Opportunities serue, take notice and Possession of some of them, whereunto these courses of Plantation (being rightly prosecuted) are a singular, if not the onely meanes.

Resp. *All this is most apparant: but may the like be said for your third point, The good of this land likewise?*

Enr. Yes

Enr. Yes verily. Whosoeuer shall but lightly consider the estate thereof, as now it stands, shall plainly see, and will be enforced to confesse, That the prosecuting, and that in *an ample measure*, of those worthy Attempts, is an enterprise for our Land and common good, most expedient and necessarie. For,

3. By them the good of this Land may notably be procured.

First of all, whereas toward the Supportation of their Regall estate, for many and vrgent Necessities, the Kings of this Land are oft occasioned to demand and take of their Subiects, great summes of money by Subsidies, and other like wayes, which to many of the Subiects, specially the Clergie (who for the most part, to such payments, as things now stand, pay eight or ten times as much proportionably, as other Subiects doe) is somewhat hard and heauy to endure. This Burthen would be more easily borne, and could not but become much the lighter, if by the accession of more kingdoms to their crowne, store of treasures being brought into their Coffers, the same were borne by diuers other lands and Subiects, as well as of this, and the rest, yet vnder their subiection.

1. In the easie supportation of the Regall state.

Secondly, Whereas our Land, at this present, by meanes of our long continued both *Peace* and *Health*, freed from any notable, either warre or Pestilence, the two great deuourers of mankinde, to both which in former Ages it was much subiect, euen swarmeth with multitude and plentie of people, it is time, and high time, That like Stalls that are ouerfull of Bees, or Orchyards ouergrowne with young Sets, no small number of them should be transplanted into some other soile, and remoued hence into new Hiues and Homes.

2. In ridding out of the land the great and superfluous multitude thereof.

Truly, it is a thing almost incredible to relate, and intolerable to behold, what a number in euery towne and citie, yea in euery parish and village, doe abound, which for want of commodious and ordinary places to dwell in, doe build vp Cotages by the high way side, and thrust their heads into euery corner, to the grieuous ouercharging of the places of their abode for the present, and to the very ruine of the whole Land within a while, if it be not looke vnto; which if they were transported into other regions, might both richly increase their owne estates, and notably ease and disburden ours.

Resp. These be motiues of some weight and likelihood: but let me heare more to these, if you haue them.

3. In abating the excessiue high prices of all things to liue by.

Enr. Next. Thirdly, Whereas at this present, the prices of all things

things are growne to such an vnreasonable height, that the Common, that is, the meaner sort of people, *are euen vndone*, and doe liue, in respect of that they did for thirtie or fortie yeeres past, in great needinesse and extremitie, that there is neither hope, nor possibilitie of amending this euill, but in the diminution of the number of people in the land. Which, if men will not, by departing hence, elsewhere effect, we must expect th[illegible] God, (they hauing first eaten out one another) by warre or [illegible]lence doe it for them.

I know, that much helpe in this case might be had, if our Magistrates and great ones did take some good course (*cum effectu*) for the encrease of Tillage. But neither thereof is there any (great) hope, nor therein a sufficient helpe, since it is out of all doubt, that vnlesse it be in an extraordinary fruitfull yeere, and of them now a dayes, God for our sinnes, sends but a few, our land is not able to yeeld corne and other fruit enough, for the feeding of so many as now doe lie and liue vpon it. And when it which was wont to helpe feed other countries, must, as of late we haue to our cost both seene and felt, bee faine to haue helpe and food from others; how can our state bee for the commons, but wofull and ill? Likewise, if some good course might bee taken for restraint of excessiue Fines and Rents, whereby Landlords now a daies, *grinde the faces of the poore*, and draw into their own hands all the sweet and fat of the land, so that their poore Tenants are able, neither to keepe house and maintaine themselues, nor (as anciently such houses did) to relieue others, then could not the prices of all things but much abate and come downe. Yet this were but an *imperfect Cure*. The true and sure remedie is, *The diminution of the people*, which reduced to such a competent number, as the land it selfe can well maintaine, would easily cause, not onely the excessiue height of Fines and Rents, but also the prices of all things else, to fall of themselues, and stay at so reasonable a Rate, that one might (which now they cannot) liue by another, in very good sort.

4 In enriching the poorer sort hence remoued.

4. Consider also the great riches, wealth, and good estate which such who here liue, and cannot but liue *parcè & duriter*, poore and hardly, might by Transplantation, within a while rise vnto: while as they may haue otherwhere, for their bad cottages, good houses; for their little gardens, great grounds; and for their small backsides,

backsides, large fields, pastures, meadowes, woods, and other like plentie to liue vpon.

5. The benefit that might that way accrew vnto Merchants, and all kinde of Aduenturers by Sea, is infinit. For Traffique and Merchandize cannot but by meanes thereof wonderfully be bettered and increased. And withall, which is not the least point in Obseruation, most commodious and delightfull must merchandizing and traffique needs bee, while it shall be exercised for the most part, betweene one and the same people, though distant in Region, yet vnited in Religion, in Nation, in Language and Dominion. Which surely is a thing likely to proue so materiall and beneficiall, as may turne the greater part of our Merchants voyages that way, and free them from many of those dangerous passages which now they are faine to make by the Straits and narrow Seas; may finde them out their rich and much-desired commodities, and greater store, and at a better hand then now they haue them otherwhere, and vent them many a thing, which now doe seldome, or not at all, passe their hands. 5. In amending the Trade and Traffique of Merchants

But of all other, I need speake little of the Merchants good, as who can, and I am perswaded, doe so well know it of themselues, and thereupon affect the enterprise so much, that if other mens desires and endeuours were correspondent, it would take both speedy and condigne effect.

6. The last benefit to our Land, but not the least, is the curing of that euill Disease of this Land; which, if it be not lookt vnto, and cured the sooner, will bee the Destruction of the Land, I meane, *Idlenesse the Mother of many Mischiefes*, which is to be cured, and may be rooted out of the Land, by this meanes, yea by this onely, and by none other, *viz.* by Plantation. 6. In rooting out Idlenesse out of this Land.

Resp. *Idlenesse is a naughtie vice indeed, but commonly it doth hurt none but them in whom it is, and yet except that fault, many that be idle be honest men, and haue in them diuers good qualities: and therefore me thinkes you speake too hardly of it; to call it* The Mother of Mischiefes. *There be worse vices a great many in the Land, as this Drunkennesse and vnthriftie spending of their goods, which are euery where so common.*

Enr. I perceiue by you, it is a very bad cause that cannot get a Proctour. That which I haue spoken against Idlenesse, is but little to that I could speake, and which writers both humane and

diuine haue ſpoken of it, to whom I will referre you, leſt we protract this our Conference ouer-long. But for the vices you ſpeake of, if they be, as you ſay, worſe then Idleneſſe; yet, as ſometime of a bad mother, there may come worſe daughters; I aſſure you, they and many more, as filching and ſtealing, robbery and couſenage, adultery and inceſt, fornication and all kinde of wantonneſſe and vncleanneſſe, beggery and roguery, prophaneneſſe and idoiatry, and a number more, that vpon the ſodaine, I cannot call to minde, and with which this Land of ours is defiled and filled, be none other (for the moſt part) then the fruits and offſpring, the brood and increaſe of *Idleneſſe*; which alone taken away, and weeded out, theſe all would fall away and vaniſh with her. For, *Sublata cauſa, tollitur effectus*, ſaith the Philoſopher, The cauſe of any thing taken away, the effect is alſo taken away with it, and muſt ceaſe.

The fruits of Idleneſſe.

Reſp. *A happy worke indeed were the doing thereof. But doe you thinke, or is there any probabilitie, that this might be done by ſo ſpeedie and caſie a meanes, as Plantation?*

Enr. Queſtionleſſe, The beſt and the onely Cure thereof *by the hand of man*, is this way, and none other. The diminution of the people of the Land vnto a due and competent Number will doe it. This is apparant by Experience. For, looke we backe to the ſtate of our Land for 40. 50. or 60. yeeres agoe, before it did thus exceed in multitude, and we ſhall ſee, that few or none of theſe vices did then abound, nothing in Compariſon of that they doe now, as which haue ſince ſprung vp out of Idleneſſe, that ſince that time, together with the multitude and increaſe of the people, is riſen and increaſed.

Reſp. *Indeed I remember well, when I was a young man, there were no ſuch ſwaggering Youths, potting Companions, and idle Gameſters as bee now in the Countrie: little fornication, baſtardie, quarrelling and ſtabbing, and other like wicked facts, in reſpect of thoſe that be now, howſoeuer it be that the world is ſo much altered. But that theſe euils may be amended by Plantations, yet I ſee not.*

Enr. I will make you ſee it, and confeſſe it too. You haue your ſelfe a great many of Children, if you ſhould keepe them all at home, and haue not wherewith to ſet them to worke, nothing to employ them in (for all the worke you haue to doe ordinarily, is not enough for aboue two or three of them) muſt they not needs

needs fall to Idleneſſe? what will moſt of them prooue but Idlers and Loyterers? Now, to preuent and auoyd this, what other remedie haue you, but either to get worke for them into your own houſe from other men, if you can haue it, or elſe perforce to place them forth of your owne houſe into other mens, one to this trade or occupation, another to that, where they may be ſet aworke, and kept from Idleneſſe.

Reſp. *This is true. But what is this to our purpoſe?*

Enr. Very much. For the caſes are very like. Thereby you may plainly perceiue, that, as the onely way to rid Idleneſſe out of your houſe, hauing no worke for them at home, is, to place abroad your children into other houſes, as it were, into Colonies, where they may be ſet aworke; ſo the onely way to rid Idleneſſe out of a whole pariſh, towne, countie or countrey (the ſame being not able to ſet thoſe that are idle therein aworke. And it is a thing ſo euident, that for the idle people of our Land, what by the great number of them, which is almoſt infinite; and what by the preſent dampe and decay of all Trades and employments, the Land is not any way able to ſet them aworke, that it needs no proofe, is to place abroad the Inhabitants thereof, which therein be not, nor can be ſet aworke, into other pariſhes, townes, counties and countries.

Reſp. *If this Courſe ſhould be taken, it would touch very neere a great many of the beſt liuers in the Countrey, who, both themſelues, and their children be as idle as any can be; and yet would be loth, hauing ſo good meanes here to liue by, to be remoued into Plantations abroad.*

Enr. Theſe might be brought from Idleneſſe, and yet abide at home too. For, if the ſuperfluous multitude of our Land were remoued, thoſe which you ſpeake of, would for their owne need fall to worke, and leaue Idleneſſe, becauſe that multitude remoued, they ſhould haue none to doe their worke for them, as now, they haue, while they goe to playing, potting, and other like vaine and idle courſes.

The Magiſtrates of our Land haue of late made many good ſtatutes and prouiſions, for the beating downe of drunkennes, for ſetting the poore and idle people to worke; and other like: but how little effect hath followed? Drunkenneſſe encreaſeth daily, and laughes the Lawes to ſcorne. Pouertie more & more ariſeth,

and idle people ſtill doe multiply. Other ſinnes and diſorders are ſometimes puniſhed, but yet they ſtill remaine, and, as it were, in deſpite of Lawes, they ſpread more and more abroad. The reaſon is, (if a man may be bold to giue the reaſon of it, *They ſtrike at the boughes, but not at the Rootes.*) If there were the like good Orders taken for the rooting out and beating downe of *Idleneſſe it ſelfe* in our Land, which can be done no other way, but by Plantations, both Idleneſſe it ſelfe, and all the reſt of the Euils beforenamed, and other like that ariſe out of it, would vaniſh away as ſmoake before the winde, and melt as Waxe againſt the Fire.

Ale-houſes. Then, theſe blinde and filthy Ale-houſes, which are none other than the *Deuils Dennes*, wherein lurke his beaſtly ſlaues day and night, which all the Iuſtices in the Countrey cannot now keepe downe, would ſinke of themſelues to the ground.

Tobacco-ſhops. Then, theſe Tobacco-ſhops, that now ſtinke all the Land ouer, would ſhortly ceaſe to fume out their infernal ſmoakes, and come to a lower rate and reckoning by an hundred fold.

Idle Trades. Then, the many idle Trades, which of late are riſen vp in the Land, vnder colour to keepe people fr[om] Idleneſſe, and to ſet the poore on worke, ſuch, I ſay, as the for[mer] Ages knew not, and our preſent Age needes not, as which ſerue to nothing, but to the increaſe of pride, and vanitie in the world, would quickly grow out of requeſt.

Priſons. Then, the Priſons, and Sheriffes Wards, would not be one halfe ſo full of Malefactors and Bankrupts, as now they are. And laſt of all, (but not the leaſt; for, who can reckon vp all the benefits that this one Remedy would bring vnto our Land?) then

Violent deaths. ſhould not one halfe ſo many people of our Land bee cut off, by ſhamefull, violent, and vntimely deaths, as now there are.

Reſp. *Your ſpeeches are very probable: but by this meanes, ſo many idle people of our Land, as you intimate, being remoued, the Plantations will then be peſtered with them there, as much and as bad as we are here; and ſo, thoſe good workes be diſcredited, and haply ouerthrowne thereby. It is but the remouing of euill from one place to another.*

Enr. Howſoeuer, ſuch a Remouall made, our Land (which is the poynt in queſtion) ſhall be cleared and cured. But of that extreme hurt to the Plantations that you fore-caſt, there is no

feare.

feare. For, whereas there are in our Land at this present many idle persons, some are such as gladly would worke, if they could get it. They are idle, not for any delight they haue in idlenesse, but because they can get no body, nor meanes to set them on worke. Some are idle indeed, as may worke and will not. They haue wherewithall to keepe themselues from idlenesse, that is, worke enough of their owne to doe, but, delighting in idlenesse, and counting it a disgrace to men of their meanes, to worke and labour in their vocation, they will haue and hyre others to doe their worke, to be their seruants, and labourers, which they needed not, and which other men of like quality and ability, that are thrifty, and good Common-wealths men indeed, doe not, nor will doe, and they themselues the while liue idlely, spend their time vainely, lye at the Ale-house, or Tauerne, bibbing and bowzing beastly, sit at Cards or Tables loosely, haunt idle and lewd company shamefully, and giue themselues to no good practice or exercise commendably, but runne on from ill to worse, to the shame and discredit of themselues and their friends, and many times to the vtter vndoing and ouerthrow of them and theirs miserably. A third sort there are, as it were a mixt kinde of people, neither altogether idle, nor yet well and sufficiently set a worke. Of these, some worke at a low and small rate, many times glad to serue for any thing, rather than to begge, steale, or starue: and some of them set vp idle and pelting Trades, as it were shifts to liue by, for lacke of better imployment, that so they may haue one way or other somewhat to liue vpon.

Of all these, if the first and third sort were remoued into Plantations, where they might haue either good Liuings of their owne to liue vpon, or good imployment by others to labour vpon, it is no doubt, but that the most part of them, would be glad of the exchange, and proue laborious and industrious people, to their owne good, and the good, not the hurt, of the Countrey into which they shall be remoued. And then for the second or middle sort, it is not much to be doubted, but that the occasions of their idlenesse taken away, as I said but now, they also will leaue to be idle, fall to doe their owne worke as they should, learne to thriue and become profitable to themselues, and this our Countrey, wherein they remaine, and be at length as much

ashamed

ashamed to be idle and vaine henceforth, as heretofore they were to worke and labour.

If any continue their former lewd and disordered courses, being but a few, so many of their wonted Companions being [illegible]red and gone from them, there is hope that a little seuerity of the Laws, which easily reclaimeth a few, when on a multitude sometimes it can doe little good, will and may bring them also to a better course.

And thus I hope you see, That it is not impossible the idleness that is in our Land, to be notably cured and expelled: and that this may be done either onely, or at least no way so soundly, readily, and speedily, as by Plantations. And therefore, the state of our Land considered, if there were no other benefit that might arise of Plantations, yet this alone, *viz.* the rooting out and destroying of idleness out of the Land, which else *Viper-like*, will in time root out, and destroy the Land it selfe, wherein it is bred, were cause all-sufficient, and reason enough, why such attempts should be vndertaken, and by all possible meanes furthered and hastened.

Resp. *I cannot but like well of all that hitherto you haue said, touching the goodnesse and necessity of these Actions. But yet, mee thinkes, there may be a Question, Whether they be lawfull or not? For, mee thinkes, it should neither be lawfull for any people to forsake the Countrey wherein God hath placed them, and in which they and their Progenitors, for many generations haue remained: nor to inuade and enter vpon a strange Countrey, of which they haue no warrant nor assurance that God is pleased, they should aduenture vpon it.*

Plantations be lawfull.

Enr. If any will make question of the lawfulnesse of such Actions, Nature it selfe, which hath taught the *Bees*, when their Hiue is ouer-full, to part Company, and by swarming, *to seeke a new habitation* elsewhere, doth euidently informe vs, That it is as lawfull for men to remoue from one Countrey to another, as out of the house wherein they are borne, or the parish wherein they are bred, vnto another. If *humane reason* satisfie not, (for some will make doubts in cases most cleare) there is *diuine warrant* for it that may. For it was Gods expresse commandement to *Adam*, *Gen.* 1. 28. that hee should *fill the earth, and subdue it*. By vertue of which *Charter*, hee and his haue euer since had

had the *Priuiledge* to spread themselues from place to place, and to *haue, hold, occupie, and enioy* any Region or Countrey whatsoeuer, which they should finde either not pre-occupied by some other, or lawfully they could of others get or obtaine.

Vpon which clause, wee *Englishmen* haue as good ground and warrant to enter vpon *New-found-Land*, or any other Countrey hitherto not inhabited or possessed by any Nation else, Heathen or Christian, and any other that we can lawfully, (I say lawfully) get of those that doe inhabite them, as to hold our owne native the English soyle.

Resp. *But this, though I see it to be lawfull, seemes yet to be a very strange course, the like whereof, in former Ages hath not beene vsed.*

Enr. That this course hath beene in former times both vsuall and ancient, and not as you seeme to imagine, new and strange, though I might proue by coniecture onely: For, how else had it beene possible, so many, so diuers, so distant, and so great Countries to be peopled, but by remouing from one Countrey to another? or referre you to *humane Histories*, which are full of such Narrations, and of them, aboue all to the *Romane state*, which from their very first yeeres, *ab vrbe condita*, after that *Rome* it selfe was builded, fell apace to that practice, and had euer in hand, one or other *Colonie*. One of good Antiquity, and therefore not partiall, and of great Obseruation, and therefore regardable, doth tell vs expresly, That as other things common by nature, so Lands, so Countries, (for they also are a part of his *omnia*) haue become priuate, from time to time. *aut veteri Occupatione, aut victoria, aut lege*: either by ancient vsurpation, men finding them void and vacant, or by victory in warre, or by legall condition or composition in peace. But what need I care what such say, or say not, when as holy Writ it selfe tels vs very plainely, *Gen.* 10. 5. That whereas after *Noahs floud*, there were no more aliue on earth, of all the posterity of *Adam*, but *Noah*, and *his sons*, and their *wiues*, eight persons in all, *Of them only were the Iles of the Gentiles diuided in their Lands, euery man after his tongue, and after their Families in their Nations*? And againe, *verse* 32. *Out of these were the Nations diuided in the earth*. that is, These, as they increased, dispersed themselues, and inhabited, and replenished, *first* one Country, and then another, as wee see at this day. And this,

Plantations no new nor strange course: but both vsuall and ancient

Tully.

Gen. 10. 5.

this vpon warrant of that *Grant* which *Adam* had, being renewed and confirmed vnto *Noah*, and his ſonnes, *Gen. 9. 1. Replete terram*, Repleniſh yee the earth, or fill it vp againe. Laſtly, let ſuch but looke backe and thinke, How at firſt wee, *the Inhabitants of this Land*, came hither. Were all *Indigenæ?* or rather *Terrigenæ?* Did they at firſt ſpring vp heere out of the earth? Are we of the Race and off-ſpring of *Noah*, or *his ſonnes?* and therefore *per conſeq.* vndeniable, (as all our Hiſtories doe accord) haue come from other-where? Why then ſhould that ſeeme ſo inſolent to vs, and in our time, which haue beene ſo vſuall at all times, and in all Ages?

Gen. 9. 1.

Reſp. *You haue, mee thinkes, well iuſtified this courſe in generall: Now, if you can as well cleare it in ſome particulars, I ſhall haply at length bee of your minde alſo, for the maine.*

Certaine Obiections anſwered.

Enr. Obiect your particulars, and I doubt not whatſoeuer they be, but I ſhall be able reaſonably to ſatisfie you in them.

1. Obiection.

Reſp. *The places, the Countries to be planted and inhabited by vs, are very farre off from hence.*

Anſwere.

Enr. To that I ſay, firſt, If neerer places cannot bee had, better a good place, though farre off, than none at all.

Secondly, others, as the *Spaniards*, haue and doe remoue and plant further off, by a great deale.

Thirdly, *Abraham*, *Iacob*, and other good men, haue beene content in leſſe need, ſaue that GOD ſo commanded to depart farre from the places of their birth, as wee may ſee, *Gen. 12. 4. Acts 7. 2.* and other-where.

Fourthly, When God calls, and as with vs now, Neceſsitie doth ſo require, good men ſhould be indifferent to dwell in one Countrey, as well as in another, accounting, as one ſaid well, *Vbi benè, ibi patria:* whereſoeuer a man is, or may be beſt at eaſe, that is, or ſhould be to him (as) his Countrey. A very Heathen man could ſay:

Quas.

Omne ſolum forti patria eſt, vt piſcibus æquor:
Vt volucr., vacuo quicquid in orbe patet. that is,

Vnto a valiant-minded man, each Country good is his:
As is wide world vnto the Birds, and broad Sea to the Fiſh.

And, another being asked, *Cuius eſſet Vrbis?* anſwered, *Orbis*: as who would ſay, The World at large were his Seate or City.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, *Sister-land*, or as it is yet commonly called, *Newfound-land*, which for the present seemeth to be the fittest of all other intended *Plantations*, is not very farre off. It is not with a good winde, aboue foureteene or fifteene dayes sayle. As easie a voyage in manner, the Seas and passage considered, as into our next Neighbour-Countrey *Ireland*, whither of late yeeres many haue out of *England*, to their and our good remoued.

Sixthly, Our Merchants, in hope of present but vncertaine gaine, doe yeerely and vsually trauaile into farther Countries a great deale: and why, then should any for his assured, certaine, and perpetuall good, thinke it intolerable or vnreasonable to make one such a iourney in his life?

Resp. *The Countries themselues are wilde and rude: No townes, no houses, no buildings there.* 2. Obiect.

Ent. Men must not looke still, in such a case, to come to a Land inhabited, and to finde ready to their hands, as in *Israel*, in *Canaan, great and goodly Cities, which they builded not: houses full of all manner of store, which they filled not: wells digged, which they digged not: Vine-yards*, and Orchards, *which they planted not*: as *Moses* speaketh, *Deut.* 6. 10. It must content them, that God prepareth them a place, a Land, wherein *they may build them Cities*, Townes, and Houses *to dwell in*, where they *may sow Land, and plant them Vine-yards* and Orchards too, *to yeeld them fruits of increase*, as the *Psalmist* writeth, *Ps.* 107. 39. Answ.

2. Thinke they it is no bodies lot but theirs? And doe they imagine, that in any Countrey whersoeuer, where now there are Castles and Towres, Houses and Habitations of all sorts settled, there was not a time when none of these were standing? but that the ground was as bare and naked thereof, as wilde and void of Couerture, as any of our *Plantations* are. For, according to our English Prouerbe, *Rome it selfe was not built in one day.*

3. They that shall at first come there, may account it a benefit to finde the places vnbuilt, in that they may thereby chose them seates, and diuide the Countrey at their owne will: That they may enter large Territories, and take to themselues ample possessions at pleasure, for them and theirs for many Generations: That they may be freed from these extreme Fines, and ouerrackt Rents, which make their old Neighbours and natiue friends

behind, to groane, and may well make them weary of the Land it selfe: For, who can beare them?

4. And if they can be content here to build vp houses vpon the High-way-side, though there be not the fourth part of an Acre of ground lying vnto it: or thinke themselues bountifully dealt with, if any Gentleman would giue to any of them, three or foure acres of ground, for their owne time, at a reasonable rent, (and yet few be the Land-Lords that be so liberall) so as they would build a House on it; why should they not rather goe where they may haue an hundred, fiue hundred, or a thousand Acres of ground, to them and theirs for euer, at the like rate?

Resp. *But what, and how shall men doe the while, for houses and dwellings, till they can build, &c?*

Tents may serue for a time.

Enr. They may and must for a time dwell in Tents and Pauillions, as Souldiers doe now in the Field, Tradesmen in a Faire, and as in ancient times men of good and great account, from time to time, from place to place, many yeeres together haue done, as appeareth, *Hebr.* 11. 9. The particulars whereof you may reade at leasure, *Gen.* 12. 8. and 15. 5. and 18. 1. and 24. 67. and 31. 33. So dwelled all *Israel* in the Wildernesse, full fortie yeeres, as you may finde, *Leuitic.* 23. 42. and *Numb.* 14. 33, 34. Yea, was not GOD himselfe content to dwell in a *Tent, in the middest of Israel*, till the dayes of *Dauid*, and reigne of *Salomon*, who found that fauour in his eyes, that hee might build him an House? as it is written, 2 *Sam.* 7. 63. and *Act.* 7. 45. The like did the Family of the *Rechabites*, as appeareth at large, *Ierem.* 35. for the space of three hundred yeeres together, when as all *Israel* besides dwelt in houses, and in walled Townes and Cities, and fauing for the commandement of *Ionadab*, the sonne of *Rechab* their Father, so might they haue done. So that it is neither vnnaturall, vnusuall, nor vnpossible to take paines this way for a time, and that a long time, if need be.

Resp. *Your examples I must needs yeeld, are al good, because they be so authenticall. But yet I see not that the vse of Tents can be any thing seruiceable, for that being made, as commonly they are, but of raw cloth or canuase, besides that they are very cold, they are not able to keepe off any raine or wet an houre to an end.*

Enr. Well and artificially made, they are more seruiceable then you take them to be. Reade but *Exod.* 7. and 14. and to

conferre

conferre it with 2. *Sam.* 7. 2. and you shall finde, That they may be made very durable: and that to the well making of Tents, there may goe a *Couering or two* of skins, or other stuffe, so dressed and fitted, as nor wet nor cold can easily pierce them.

Resp. *I see it well: I pray you proceed.*

Enr. Besides these, Men may, hauing once gotten place certaine for their abode, soone erect some Cabbins and small houses, which may for a time, some yeeres if need bee, serue for habitation, and afterward when they can build better, may be conuerted to inferiour vses, as for corne, cattle, &c. Men must bee contented at first with low and plaine buildings. *England* hath beene inhabited two or 3000. yeeres at least, and yet whatpoore, what homely houses be there many till this very day, and within your remembrance and mine, many more there were? If the Liuing be good, though the house be but bad, it is no great matter, good Husbands will say.

Resp. *The Countries themselues are scarce habitable and good: and the Soile thereof but barren and bad.* 3. Obiection.

Enr. Experience it selfe, the surest teacher, sheweth altogether the contrary. For, if any credit be to be giuen to those that haue set vs forth their owne knowledge, and triall thereof by the *constant testimonie of them all*, not one of those Countries intended or attempted to be be planted by vs, but is found to haue exceeding good and fruitfull. In euery Countrey to bee inhabited, three things are specially to bee respected; The Temperature of the Climate, the goodnesse of the Aire, and the fatnesse of the Soile. All and euery of these in those Regions (a thing seldome found in many of this vpper Continent,) in comparison of many of our Northerne parts, are in the superlatiue degree, *viz.* The Soile most fat and fertile, the Aire most sweet and healthy, and the Temper most milde and daintie. If those that lie neere (or vnder) the *Æquinoctiall*, seeme at first to be somewhat of the hottest, yet since they are inhabited with Naturals of many sorts, and our men by their abiding there *some yeeres together*, haue found that they can inhabit them, there is no doubt, but that that excesse of heate, whereby as *Spaine*, *England*, they exceed these our Northerne Climates, will by vse and time become very tolerable and kindly to men of our Constitution, as well as of others. Answer.

The Healthineſſe of any Countrie, by plantatio and inhabitation muſt needs be much increaſed. For, the ridding of grounds, caſting of ditches, and watercourſes, and making of fires, together with the deſtroying of wilde and filthy beaſts, all which, and other like, doe neceſſarily accompany any good Plantation, further much to the clenſing of the aire, cleering of fogges, and ſo ridding of much corruption and vnhealthineſſe from the place.

Adde to theſe the two much-deſired Commodities in all good Habitations, I meane, *Wood* and *Water*, (the former whereof ſo faſt decaies with vs, that very want of it onely, within few yeers is like to proue exceeding hurtfull to our Land, and can bee no way repaired, but by tranſplanting the people) and it is out of all queſtion, That neither *England* nor *Ireland*, nor any countrey elſe in this part of Chriſtendome, can at this preſent compare with thoſe, much leſſe exceed them. All which conſidered, what need any doubt, but that *The Sunne*, as the old Prouerbe is, *doth ſhine there, as merrily as here?* and that a little good husbandry will make the dwelling there, as commodious as healthfull, as gainfull, and euery way as good, as any other-where.

Reſp. *Your words doe ſound ſomewhat pleaſing: But yet I haue heard ſome ſay ſomewhat otherwiſe, as namely, Thoſe countries are very barren and vnfruitfull.*

Enr. I beleeue you; For I haue heard ſay too, *Euill will, will neuer ſay well.* Many idle wretches, when they come into ſuch places, becauſe they cannot haue the plenty without paines, nor finde thoſe golden mountaines they dreamed of at home, though many things bee notable and very good, yet will cauill at, and blame euery thing.

Suppoſe it be ſomewhat as they ſay, that is, The ground not ſo fruitfull as ſome places here in *England*, yet doth it follow therefore, it is not worth the hauing? If I be not deceiued, There bee few Countries in *Europe* that can compare with *England* for richneſſe of the Soile, and fatneſſe of the earth; yet we all know, they are not therefore forſaken. Againe, in *England* it ſelfe all places are not alike good. As there be ſome of excellent mold, ſo there be barren, heath, and hungry Soiles a great many: yet we ſee, people are glad to inhabit them. Be it then, that ſome of thoſe parts be no better then our worſer grounds, our heaths, Mendip hills, Wiltſhire downes, Salisbury plaines, and other like; yet I hope they

they are better then none. A great deale of such ground together, I thinke, may be as good, as a little good ground. If any man will thus consider of such complaints and murmurs, he shall see no great cause to regard them. These therefore thus satisfied, if you haue any thing else to say, say on.

Resp. *Some say also, That those Countries are so ouergrowne with wood, trees, bushes, and such like, that there is no roome for building, no ground for pasture and tillage, or at least, not without excessiue labour and charge, or intolerable and pittifull spoile of the woods and timber to no vse.*

Ens. It cannot be, but that those countries, hauing either not at all, or but little as yet beene inhabited, must needs be much ouergrowne with woods, and no small part thereof to be a very Forrest and Wildernesse, yet certaine it is, that there are (a thing very admirable, and almost beyond expectation:) there are, I say, in them to be found many goodly parts of those Countries, that are very cleare of woods, faire and goodly open champion ground, large Meadowes and Pastures many hundred, sometimes thousands of Acres together. So that besides the wood-lands there is abundantly roome, and ground enough to build and inhabit vpon, for more people, I beleeue, then will hastily be gotten ouer to dwell there: and more ground open and cleare already rid for pasture and tillage, then yet there will be people and cattle enough had thither to such vses, the same to conuert and employ.

The spoyle of woods in those countries not sufferable.

And therefore there needs not, either that Complaint which they make, of the excessiue store and encomberment of woods, nor, which is worse, of that present and hastie spoile, and burning vp of woods on the sudden, for making of roome, that some doe talke of, and would haue to be made; and, as it is reported, haue already made by burning vp thousands of Acres together. This, truly in my opinion, is a thing very wicked, and such as cannot but be displeasing to Almightie God, who abhorreth all wilfull waste and spoile of his good creatures. *Gather vp that which is left*, saith our Sauiour, *Ioh. 6. 12. that nothing be lost:* and a thing that in common ciuilitie, and humane policie, should not be suffered to be done, or being done, not passe vnpunished.

Wee may know by our owne present want of wood here in *England*, what a pretious commoditie wood is, and be warned by our owne harmes, to make much of it, if we haue plenty thereof,

of, and no further nor faſter to cut it downe, then preſent vſe and good occaſions from time to time ſhall require. We ſhould not be ſo blinde as not to foreſee, that if the countries come once to be inhabited, there will be ſo many, and ſo great occaſions of cutting downe wood and timber trees, as will quickly cauſe infinite ſtore thereof neceſſarily to be imployed, and ſo the grounds from time to time ſpeedily enough to be made cleare and ridde for other vſes.

For, firſt, the very building of Houſes, to which adde the neceſſary making of fences about houſes and grounds, will vſe an infinit deale of Wood and Timber.

Secondly, The ſtore that will daily and yeerely be ſpent in neceſſary vſes for fire, which at the firſt ſpecially, till houſes bee warme and drie, and the ayre corrected, will and muſt be more than ordinarie, cannot but, if once any number of Inhabitants goe ouer, be exceeding great.

Thirdly, The building and making of Ships and ſhipping, will require and conſume very much there. And ſuch order may bee taken, that by the woods there, great ſpare (a thing very needfull) may be made in *England*, of our Woods here for that vſe.

Fourthly, To theſe places may be tranſplanted, the making of Glaſſe and Iron, as well for *England*, as for the ſame Countries: two things, that as it is well knowne, doe deuoure (yet vpon neceſſary vſes) wonderfull ſtore of Wood continually.

Fiftly, The Trades of Potters for earthen veſſels, and of Coupers for treen Veſſels, both very neceſſary, ſpecially at the firſt, will and muſt ſtill from time to time ſpend vp much Wood and Timber.

Sixtly, And little behinde them in expence of Wood, will be that very neceſſary Trade of making of Salt, conſidering how great vſe there is and will be thereof there, for the fiſhing voyages, beſides all other vſes thereof, both there and elſe-where.

Seuenthly, No ſmall quantity thereof likewiſe may be cut vp and tranſported into *England*, for our Buildings, for Coupers, Ioyners, and Trunk-makers trades heere, which now at a daerer hand, wee buy and fetch out of other Countries.

Eighthly, Beſides, the Woods ſtanding are of themſelues, and by induſtry more may be made, a great fortification for the Inhabitants againſt man and Beaſt, till the Countries be, and can be better employed and fortified.

Theſe

These, and other like necessary and great vses of wood considered, which either must, or may be made thereof, little reason or cause is there, why, as if it could, like the waters in the riuers, neuer be spent while the world stands, there should any sudden and needlesse spoile by fire or any other wastfull hauocke be made thereof: and seuerely deserue they to be punished that shall make it, and sharply the rest to be restrained, that none like hereafter be made.

Resp. *These Countries are full of wilde Beasts, Beares, &c.*

Enr. 1. Some of them, as the *Summer Ilands*, haue no such at all. No harmfull thing in them. 4. Obiection Answere.

2. None of them, especially *Newfound Land*, as farre as I heare, haue any, or at least, any store of noysome creatures, as of Serpents, Crocodiles, &c. as haue many parts of this Continent, which yet long hath beene, and still be inhabited.

3. It is well, there are some beasts there, wilde at least, if not tame. That is an argument vndeniable, that tame beasts may there be bred and liue.

4. Better wilde then none at all. For of some of them, some good vse may be made for the present, *viz.* for labour, for food, and for apparell, till better prouision can be made. To which purpose such infinite store and variety of beasts, birds, fishes, fruits, and other like commodities, as in them all are already found, and doe abound, ought rather to prouoke people to goe thither, assured they cannot, if they will be anything industrious, *want necessaries ad victum & amictum*, for backe and belly, where such plentie is, and to praise God that hath, as for *Adam* in Paradise, before he placed him there, *Gen.* 1. so for them, before he bring them thither, prouided so well, rather then the want of some better or other, should moue them like the Israelites against God, *Exod.* 16. to murmur and repine, or which is worse, wholly to refuse and forgoe the places.

5. Haue not other Countries, thinke you, or at least, haue had the like? Is *England*? is *Ireland*? is *France* altogether free? was *Canaan*, euen that blessed land, without thē, yea good store of them? I take it no, and that not at the first only, as one may gather, *Deut.* 7. 22. but also many ages after, there were Lions, *Iudg.* 14. 5. and 1. *King.* 13. 24. Beares, 2. *King.* 2. 24. Foxes, *Iudg.* 15. 4. Hornets, *Deut.*

Deut.7.20. Serpents, *Esay 30.6.&c.*

Resp. *Among other meanes in these Plantations requisit, the hauing thither of tame cattell, as horses, kine, and sheepe, seemeth hard to bee compassed, and yet most needfull*, and that with the very first, *to be prouided, considering those Countries, howsoeuer they abound in other, are altogether destitute and vnprouided of these. And it will be obiected, That*, besides the difficultie of Transportation, *our Country is not able of them to make any spare.*

What meanes for profitable cattell to be had and transported.

Enr. But if I bee not deceiued, It were easie to take such a course as might at will furnish that want, and yet leaue vs farre better stored then now we are: and that is,

1. For horses, if all Transportation of them into *France* and other vicine parts beyond Sea, were restrained, that so all such as were wont to passe out of the Land that way, might now goe this.

2. For Kine and Sheepe, our Land is well stored of them, or rather pestered with them, that if of the one sort, some hundreds, and of the other, some thousands yeerely were thither sent, our Land should haue thereby no losse nor lacke, since it is a rule infallible in husbandrie, howsoeuer it seeme to some a *Paradox* in sense, *The more Kine, the dearer White; The more Sheepe, the dearer Cloth.* And therefore we must neuer looke to haue those two Commodities (*White* and *Cloth*) at any reasonable hand, till the Number of those two kinde of Cattell be, and that in a good measure too, diminished in our Land. It is also a *Maxime* vndeniable: *The more Cowes, the fewer Ploughes*, and *The more Milkings, the fewer Weanlings*. And therefore till those cattell (*Kine*) be diminished, and that in a good Number, wee must not looke to haue *Corne* and *Flesh* plentie, *Bread* and *Biefe* cheape in *England* againe. But (alas) *Narratur fabula Surdo.* For whose hands bee deeper in this sinne, then theirs that should redresse it?

3. If a strict course might bee taken (and for a publike good, why should not our wanton appetites be a little dieted?) that in *England*, from the third of *February*, till the first of *May*, or happely but from *Septuagesima* Sunday, till the first Sunday after *Easter*, the chiefe time for breed, no Calues whatsoeuer should be killed, but all to bee weaned and kept for store; within a yeere or two,

two, without all doubt, we should haue Biefe better cheape in our market a great deale, then now it is, or for many yeeres past it hath beene, and yet many hundreds, haply thousands, of faire yeerelings to bee had for those our new Countries which now haue none.

Where, if any good course be taken, and well obserued for preseruation of euery kinde, I doubt not but they would faster there increase and fill the Countries, then the inhabitants should be able to make roome for them, by destroying and killing vp those wilde and vntamed beasts, which now doe so there abound.

4. It were good too, our Fish dayes all the yeere long, were better kept. For it is certaine, *The more fish is spent, the more flesh is spared*: and as both flesh and fish will be thereby the better cheape: so Beeues, young Bullocks will be the more saued, for the helpe and vse of those which to store their Plantations, shall want them.

5. Besides, *Wales*, and here of late, God be thanked, *Ireland* seeme by the great droues which yeerely they send ouer, so well stored, that thence alone, though *England* helped not, Prouision enough might be had, for more kine and young cattell of that sort, then easily there can be Transportation had for.

6. Lastly, As they that write of these Discoueries doe relate, There be also some countries neerer to some of our Plantations then either *England* or *Ireland*, from which if men will seeke for them, all sorts of tame and profitable cattell that we can or doe want, may at a very reasonable hand be had.

If it seeme hard and strange to any, to *make Transportation of cattell*, and, that in the Countries themselues are none naturally to be had: Let them be pleased to vnderstand that to be no new thing: and that where now they are most plentifull, time hath beene, None, not one was to be found: but that such cattell, as well as men, (for all came out of *Noahs* Arke, *Gen.* 8. 17.) were brought and conueyed from place to place. And if they will but a little enquire of elder men & times they may learn; It is but as it were the other day since some countries neere vnto vs had no sheepe, other no kine, other few horses, & there at this very instant, *France* is willing to haue frō vs our horses, we frō *Wales* their Burs, & frō *Ireland* their Cowes. All which doe passe from one countrey to ano-

ther by Transportation. And therefore men must be contented, as themselues, to dwell where before they haue nor done, so to get thither cattell, profitable cattell, where before they haue not beene.

5. Obiect. Resp. *The people of those Countries are rude and barbarous.*

Answ. *Enr.* They that like to dwell alone, may. There are countries found, and more to bee found, I doubt not, not yet inhabited and actually possessed by any people, nation, or state whatsoeuer.

2. They with whom wee haue to doe, are not so rude as some imagine, I beleeue. Most, if not all of them, specially they of *Guiana*, doe shew themselues, their breeding considered, exceeding tractable, very louing and kinde to our Nation aboue any other: industrious and ingenious to learne of vs, and practise with vs most Arts and Sciences: and which is most to be admired and cherished, very ready to leaue their old and blinde Idolatries, and to learne of vs the right seruice and worship of the true God. And what more can bee expected from them in so small time and meanes? or what surer probabilitie or hope would we haue, that we shall or may easily, and within short time, win them to our owne will, and frame them as we list? Verily I suppose, if all things be considered well, and rightly compared, we haue neerer home worse neighbours a great deale.

3. The *Spaniard* hath reasonably ciuilized, and better might, if he had not so much tyrannized, people farre more sauage and beastiall then any of these.

4. We ought to consider, that time was, the old *Brittons* the ancient Inhabitants of this Land, were as rude and barbarous as some of these of forraigne parts, with whom wee haue to doe. And therefore considering, *Qua sumus Origine nati*, (for wee are also their Off-spring) wee ought not to despise euen such poore and barbarous people, but pitty them, and hope, that as wee are become now, by Gods vnspeakeable mercy to vs-ward, to a farre better condition, so in time may they.

6. Obiect. Resp. *The Aduenturers are very dangerous, and lyable to losses of life and goods, to troubles manifold, so that they may well bee called* Aduenturers, *that will hazard themselues in them.*

Enr. Good

Enr. Good words, I pray you. Answer.

1. Many fore-cast perils where they need not: and so, many times are more afraid than hurt. As *Salomon* obserued long agoe, *Prou.* 22. 13. *The slothfull saith, A Lyon is without, I shall be slaine in the streetes.*

2. Our life and state is not without perils at home: and I tell you, if these Aduentures, as you call them, be not better followed than yet they are, they will, and cannot but more and more increase.

3. No Action of such a weight and worth as these are, can bee without some perils, hurts, and losses, which yet must be aduenture, and indured in hope of a greater good, and ampler recompence another way.

4. Hee is not worthy to receiue such benefits as these Aduentures may yeeld him, that for feare of euery inconuenience and danger, is ready to fall off, and disclayme them. *Neque mel, neque apes*, saith the olde Prouerbe. No Bees, (for feare of stinging) no Honie.

5. Of perils and misaduentures, some are meerely *Casuall*, and not to bee auoyded, some are altogether *needlesse*, and might haue beene preuented. The former of these must be borne with, as a part of that common calamity, whereunto the life of man is subiect, and of those crosses and afflictions wherewith God doth either try his Children, as Gold in the fire, or afflict and punish them and others. For these, no man ought to bee troubled and dismayed in these courses, more than for the like in any other, nor dislike them one iot the worse.

Wee finde, when God would bring his owne people the children of *Israel* into that good Land, the Land of *Canaan*, which so oft & so solemnely he had promised to them and to their Fathers, he did it not without letting them passe, and feele some perils by the way; as the stopping at the red Sea, the pursuite of *Pharaoh*, one while the want of flesh, another while of water in the Wildernesse, the terrour of fiery Serpents, and the assault of many and mighty enemies, with other like. Wee finde also, that he was much displeased with, and sharpely sometimes did punish those of them that murmured because of those things, and would haue returned backe into *Egypt*, regarding not to proceed, and accept that Land, that good Land, which the Lord their

God had giuen to them and their seed. And may not this teach vs, That we must not looke to haue the hand of Gods prouidence extended vnto vs without some dangers and incumbrances: And that the Lord is not pleased with those that for feare of euery mis-hap and trouble, will bee discouraged themselues, or will dis-hearten and discourage others from such Attempts?

Christ likewise the Sonne of God, sending abroad his Apostles to preach the Gospell, is so farre from securing them of all troubles and dangers in their indeuours thereabout, that hee fore-tells them, *He doth send them forth as Lambes among Wolues.* That they should be *hated, persecuted, and put to death for his sake, &c.* But were the Apostles by this dismayed? Did they therefore refuse to vndertake their charge, and proceed in the worke of the Lord? Weeknow the contrary. Notable to this purpose is the protestation of the Apostle Saint *Paul*, 2. *Cor.* 6. 4. and 11. 23.

Resp. *I pray you recite the very words, for I desire to heare what so great an Apostle hath said to such a purpose.*

Enr. With a good will. Speaking there both of himselfe, and the rest of his fellow Apostles and Labourers in the Gospell, thus he saith: *In all things We approue our selues as the Ministers of God, in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses, in stripes, in prisons, in tumults, in labours. By Watchings, by fastings, by puritie, by knowledge, by long suffering:* and a little after, *By honour and dishonour, by euill report and good report, as deceiuers, and yet true: as vnknowne, and yet knowne: as chastened, and yet not killed: as sorrowing, and yet alway reioycing: as poore, and yet making many rich: as hauing nothing, and yet possessing all things.* And in the same Epistle, Chap. 11. 23. opposing and contesting against false apostles of those times, that sought to debase and disgrace him, thus he writeth of his owne particulars: *In labours more abundant, in stripes aboue measure, in prison more plenteously, in Death oft. Of the Iewes fiue times receiued I forty stripes saue one, I was thrice beaten with roddes: I was once stoned: I suffered thrice Ship-Wracke. Night and day haue I beene in the deepe Sea. In iourneying I was often: in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils of mine owne Nation, in perils among the Gentiles:*

in

in perils in the Citie, in perils in the Wildernesse: in perils in the Sea: in perils among false Brethren. In wearinesse, and painfulneße, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakednesse. Beside the things which are outward, I am combred daily, and haue the care of all the Churches. Who is weake, and I am not weake? Who is offended, and I burne not? You haue heard abundantly of the sufferings, heare also the inuincible constancy and magnanimity of this admirable Champion of the Lord, expressed with his owne mouth, *Act.20.22. And now behold, I goe bound in the Spirit vnto Ierusalem, and know not what things shall come vnto mee there, saue that the Holy Ghost witnesseth in euery City, saying, that Bands and afflictions abide mee. But I passe not, (for it) at all, neither is my life deare vnto me, so that I may fulfill my course with ioy, and the Ministration which I haue receiued of the Lord Iesus, viz. to testifie the Gospell of the grace of God.* And Chap. 21.13. *I am ready not to be bound onely, but also to dye at Ierusalem, for the name of the Lord Iesus.* Hauing such Lights and Leaders for our example, shall we grudge and vtterly refuse to suffer any thing, to hazard any troubles, and to beare any crosses at all, (And it is not possible we should meet with such a measure and heape thereof, as they did by many degrees,) for the Gospels sake, and, besides all other good that may co there- of, that wee may helpe to enlarge the Kingdome of G and his *Christ* on earth? And thus much of the first sort of euill accidents and mis-haps.

The other sort, which I called needlesse or wilfull, by which I meane such as men wilfully, through their owne fault doe cast themselues or others into, by their euill managing of any such businesse, by rashnesse, disorder, ouer-sight, or the like, ought not to be imputed to the Actions themselues, as which doe not necessarily draw any such after them, but to the Authors and Actors of the same. As if men meete with dangers at Sea, by setting forth at vnseasonable times, in the Winter, in foule weather, or other like: If they bee surprized by an Enemy at Sea or Land, they going without sufficient forces, both of men, and munition, for such an enterprize: If they be distressed with want of victuals, and other prouisions, when they set forth slenderly, poorely, and ill prouided, with other like.

6. These

6. These Actions, our Plantations, I meane, properly and in their owne nature, are lyable to as few hazards and mishaps, as any such lightly can be.

For, first, Our Passage to any of the places intended, is very easie, open, and cleare. Sea-roome at will, and, if we take time and season conuenient, as nauigable and pleasant as need to be desired. Few Pyrates on those coasts, and fewer it is probable there would be, if some good course were taken for their repulse and dissipation.

2. Our Accesse and Entry is free and facile for the most part. No man once offereth to forbid or hinder our landing there.

3. The people of those Countries, if any bee, ready either for loue and hope of good from vs, kindly to receiue and entertaine vs, or for feare and weakenesse of their owne accord to flye from vs, and betake themselues to more remote and inland parts of those Regions, or to submit themselues tractably to liue vnder vs.

4. The Countries themselues free, for the most part, of any noysome or very dangerous either beast or Serpent: not infected nor infested, as some of this Continent, which yet are, and long haue beene well inhabited, with the most dreadfull of these sorts, that the world doth yeeld.

5. Wee need not make way for our selues into any one of them at all with fire and sword, as either our progenitors the *Saxons* and *Normans* did into this Land, or our later fore-fathers the *English*, into both *France* and *Ireland*. So that euery thing considered, *Wee cannot well wish or expect, in these dayes to finde out, to haue and gaine any Countrey or Place for Plantation with lesse troubles, fewer losses, and smaller dangers*, if things be well handled, *then these we may*. Nor is it likely, if wee neglect and ouerslip the so faire and many opportunities now offered vs, that euer we shall haue and finde the like againe.

7. Obiect. Resp. *The profit is small, and little the good that is like to arise of so great labours, dangers, and expences. For whatsoeuer you, and some others talke of great riches there, and that way to bee had, wee heare of none that proue rich and wealthy there.*

Answer. *Enr.* It may be so, and there are many reasons for it.

For, first: It is not long that any haue beene in any of these Plantations, and there must be a time for euery thing. They that

that will haue come from the ground, must tarry the ripening of it. It is not one yeeres worke or two, to get a good state in Lands, and to get some store of wealth about a man in the same likewise. They that goe ouer to such a businesse, haue many things to doe first, before they can haue time to gather wealth about them; as to build, to rid their grounds, to make fenses, to destroy wilde and hurtfull beasts, to get ouer good and profitable cattell, to plant and sow their grounds, and the like: All which be matters of great labour, time and expence. We see in daily practice with vs, a man that is a Purchaser, till he hath recouered his Fine, and stockt his Liuing, cannot be aforehand and get wealth about him: nor can they there, till they haue done those and other like things, which are to them, as it were, their Fine and In-come. It is well if seuen, or ten, or twentie yeeres hence, happely in the next generation, men can attaine vnto riches. It is enough for the fathers to take in the grounds, and settle the lands and liuings for them and theirs against the time to come, though for the present, and for their owne time, they hardly stand vp, and meet with some difficulties.

2. Men there, can, making nothing of their grounds yet, farther then any can themselues employ them to pasture or tillage. It is not there as in *England*, where, if a man haue little stocke or imployment of his owne for his grounds, yet he may let them out at a reasonable rent; but there, more then a man can stocke and till himselfe, lies still, and will yeeld him nothing at all. Make it your owne case. If you had the best Liuing in this parish in Fee simple, and had little to put vpon it, nor could get any to rent it, at your hands, could you grow rich in haste? This is their case.

Resp. *Your speech is very reasonable, I must confesse: but goe on, I pray you.*

Enr. 3. All in manner that haue gone ouer hitherto into any of these parts, are poore men, men of small meanes, and therefore with little or nothing, it is not possible they should in a little time attaine to any store of some thing: And the lesse possible, for that the benefit of their labours redounds for the most part, not to themselues, but, as in regard of their great aduentures and expenses, reason is it should, to the benefit of rich men here, that haue sent them thither.

4. Diuers of them that haue gone ouer, haue beene bankerupts

rupts and Spendthrifts, Idlers and Loyterers, who, as they thriued not in *England*, (for how should they thriue that run thriftlesse and heedlesse courses?) so will they not commonly in any Land. *Cœlum non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt*: as saith the Poet, Weeds will be weeds, where-euer they grow.

When men of fashion and meanes doe go ouer, that are able to set vp themselues and others, and that will be industrious to take the benefit of the time and place, then I doubt not but it will soone appeare what good may be done in those places, and that men may, if they will easily and quickly proue rich and wealthy there. Then, and not till then, if riches arise not, let men blame the places from whence it was expected they should arise.

6. The manner of proceeding in these attempts, may also be a great cause, why men attaine to riches there more slowly, then they might and should, if they were otherwise managed.

As, First, If the Plantation begin with a small number, farre too little for such a businesse. For then neither can they bee able to extend themselues farre into the Countries in a long time, and so not to finde out the goodnes, sweetnesse, and benefit thereof: nor to set vp all kinde of necessary trades and faculties among themselues, whereby they may bee able to assist and set one another a worke.

2. If they that remoue hence, goe sparely and ill prouided of cattell, corne, and other necessaries for Plantation and Habitation, which those countries afford not: impossible it is for them to make that profit, and get that increase by their Lands and Liuings there, which they might, if they were well and throughly prouided of such things at the first.

7. This is the onely way which men in ancient time did finde out and obserue to get riches and wealth withall, to increase and amend their estate by, when as by multitudes of people their country was, as ours now is, so ouerlaid, that they could not thriue and prosper therein. Neither were they euer lightly deceiued, but the euent and computation did answer their intent and expectation. And no doubt, if the like courses bee now attempted, they may and will, if they be well carried, produce the like, or rather better and speedier effects to vs then to them. For we haue many helps for peace and warre, for shipping and nauigation, for defence and fortification, for traffique and negotiation,

for

for building and habitation, for religious and ciuill conuersation, for skill in many needfull arts and occupations, which they had not, to further vs withall?

8. Of all other meanes to get wealth and riches by, *Husbandry* (which of all courses of life is that, which in those places must chiefly, and most of all, be followed and employed) hath anciently and worthily euer beene accounted the chiefest, best, and surest. Wherein, though it be somewhat more chargeable, combersome, and for a time, vncomfortable, to enter into a void and desolate country, ouergrowne with woods, thickets, and other like, yet who knowes not, what great oddes and aduantage to the getting of riches and wealth there is: first, betweene the breaking vp of such grounds as were neuer yet employed, but hauing lien waste, vntoucht, and vntilled from the beginning, haue all their sweetnesse and fatnesse in them, and the tillage and vsage of poore and hungry soiles, that from time to time haue beene turned vp and worne out to the vttermost: and then betwixt the hauing of great and goodly Lands, (for there one man may easily haue as much as ten or twentie haue here) and of small and simple Tenements?

9. When *Brutus* came first into this Land, who would haue imagined it would haue proued so goodly, so plentifull, so fruitfull, so rich, so excellent and happy a Land, as we (God be praised for it) doe finde, and all the world about vs doth know it is? And who but sailing along the Coasts of any of those new Countries, or but going ashore here and there, not aboue a mile or two, happely within the Land, can imagine, or conceiue, much lesse, know and vnderstand what wealth and riches, what goodly fields and pastures, hills and valleys, mines and metals, woods and waters, what hidden treasures and sundry commodities are to be found, and had therein?

10. The name of a *Kingdome* is verie great: and what should not, or heretofore, what would not men doe, to gaine a Kingdome? By these meanes opportunitie is offered vnto our Land, to our English Nation, to get and gaine, to possesse and take, to haue and enioy, together with Plantation and Habitation for thousands, and hundred thousands thereof, more then one or two Kingdomes, great and goodly Prouinces, that

by Gods blessing and prouidence towards vs, may in time bee vnited to the Crowne, the Imperiall Crowne of this Land. Which by consequence, (for what infinite store of riches and wealth, how many places of peferment and honour, for hundreds and thousands of particular and inferiour persons is there contained and comprehended within a *Kingdome*?) must needs bring with euery of them seuerally, riches and wealth of great, and in manner infinite valew and estimation.

Normandie and Aquitaine in France lost, and when.

The English lost in *France* in the time of *Henrie* the sixth, two seuerall parts of that spacious Countrie, that had beene English neere about three hundred yeeres before, that is *Normandie* and *Aquitaine*, in the former whereof (saith an English Historie, as minding to expresse the greatnesse of the losse by the particulars) there were (then) an hundred strong townes and fortresses, one Archbishoppricke, and sixe Bishopprickes, besides some other townes destroyed in the warres: and in the latter, foure Archbishopprickes, fifteene Earledomes, two hundred sixtie and two Baronies, and aboue a thousand Captainships and Bailiwicks.

Suppose we now the same had fallen out in our times, (and I hope I may without offence make vse of former and forraine things) would we not, or should we not (thinke you) account it an inestimable losse and damage to the Crowne and Countrey of *England*, worthy to be redeemed with hundred thousands of our mony and goods, and to be recouered (if it were possible) with thousands of the liues of our men, and no small effusion of Christian bloud? If now contrariwise, we may in our dayes, not lose, but get; not hazard, but assuredly haue and gaine, and that *sine sanguine & sudore*, euen without bloud or blowes, and without any waste or spoyle of our treasure and state, (I will not say the same that we had lost, but in stead thereof) some other Regions and Countries, Territories and places for Habitation, as great, and (likely in time to proue) as gord as they, might not this bee iustly accounted a gaine and good, an enlargement and increase to our Nation and Kingdome inestimable and exceeding great?

Note this.

If the name of a *Kingdome* shall bee thought too high and excellent, too great and glorious for Countries so vaste and wast, so remote, and obscure as those of our Plantations yet are, let them

them bee vouchsafed the name but of *Dukedomes*, as those last mentioned, or *Lordships*, as *Ireland* for a long time was, or by whatsoeuer other titles, parts or members of a kingdome, hee shall be pleased to stile and nominate them, *Quem penes arbitrium est, & ius & norma loquendi*, as one saith, for so we haue the thing, it is no great matter for the name: yet, if there may be had, as the probabilities, possibilities, and opportunities already had and made vs, doe plainly declare there may *in one place*, a Countrey as great, at the least, as that of *Normandie*, *in another place*, as that of *Aquitaine*, in a third, twise as much as they both, that is, such a one wherein there may be in time erected, constituted and made (speaking somewhat, thought not altogether according to the former proportions) fortie Earledomes or Counties, foure Archbishopprickes, sixe and thirtie Bishopprickes, three or foure hundred Baronies, fiue or sixe hundred townes and fortresses, one or two thousand Captainships and Bailiwicks, ten or twelue thousand parishes, and foure or fiue hundred thousand families, shall it notwithstanding be thought, that there is no wealth or riches, no place of preferment, no hope of dignitie or good there to be had?

Resp. *If there be such Possibilities, yet before the Countries themselues can be reduced to such a state, and such diuisions setled therein, as you speake of, great store of treasure and wealth must bee spent, and many yeeres of time be ouerpast.* 8. Obiect.

Enr. 1. For Expense, not so much happely, as one lingring warre, the euent whereof is most vncertaine must and will consume. Answer.

2. The Countries themselues will yeeld meanes and money enough, if they be well handled, to defray or repay whatsoeuer shall be needfull for the effecting of all these with aduantage.

3. The hazzard and losse of life and limme is this way wonderfully saued and auoyded.

4. And for time, sooner happely this may be thus effected, at least, in some tolerable measure, then a Countrey lost can bee recouered and quieted. As we may obserue, by the children of *Israel*, who setting vpon the Land of *Canaan*, and that with a mightie armie, not so few as an hundred thousand men of warre, and with more then ordinary, euen admirable successe, *The Lord*

being euer with them, yet were ſcarcely ſetled therein all the daies of *Ioſhua*: and neere home too, in our neighbour Countrie. The *Netherlands*, which being reuolted from the *Spaniard* long agoe, he hath not beene able in all our time, to reduce to his obedience againe.

5. And you know, a country being gotten by the ſword, may be loſt againe by the ſame. For, *Non minor eſt virtus, quam quærere parta tueri*: There is more adoe to keepe, then to get ſuch a thing Of the which there is little or no feare in the attempts that we talke of.

6. In a word, both the expectation and the expence for reduction of thoſe Countries to ſuch effects, will and may be ſpeedily and abundantly recompenced in the facilitie, libertie, and ſecuritie of the getting, ſetling, and keeping of them.

Wherefore, *Rumpantur Ilia Codro*: Let froward *Enuie* her ſelfe ſwell till ſhe burſt againe, and detracting *Malice*, or timorous *Ignorance* ſpeake the worſt they can, yet all that will not be blind, may ſee, and whoſoeuer will vnderſtand the truth, may know, that there are Riches and Preferment, much for the preſent, more for the times to come to be had, if men will but take them; and to be gotten and gained, if they be but laboured and ſearched for, in the places and precincts of our preſent intended Plantations.

The Summe of this firſt part.

And now I thinke good neighbour *Reſpire*, I haue for the ſatisfaction of you, or of any not peruerſly minded, ſufficiently iuſtified theſe Proiects and Attempts of Plantations for the *generall*, to be in themſelues *honourable, needfull, gainfull* and *lawfull*: and for *the particular*, to be neither ſo *dangerous* or *difficult*, nor ſo *ſtrange* or *incommodious*, as at the firſt ſhew they may ſeeme to be.

Reſp. *You haue indeed*, in mine opinion, *ſpoken exceeding well to thoſe purpoſes. Your latter words bring to my minde that worthy ſaying of* Salomon, Eccl. 11. 4. *if my memorie faile me not. The words, I am ſure, be theſe: He that obſerueth the winds, ſhall not ſow, and, he that regardeth the clouds, ſhall not reape: and your whole diſcourſe makes me feare to vrge you with any more Obiections concerning theſe matters, as which I ſee by your readie, plaine, and plentifull anſwer to theſe already moued, be to little purpoſe, and will vaniſh, when they come to be ſifted, as ſmoke before the winde. And if you can yeeld mee*

the

the like satisfaction in some other points, that I conceiue very necessary to be considered about these Actions, I shall like of them a great deale better then euer I had thought I should; and be as readie to praise and commend them, as I haue beene to dispraise and blame them. But therewith I will not trouble you at this present, but deferre it to another meeting, which God willing, shall be shortly. For I shall not be in quiet, till I haue heard the vttermost that you either can say, or I am desirous to heare touching these matters.

Enr. I am glad truly, that our little Conference hath so much preuailed with you. And I shall be ready, and becauſe I finde you so tractable and reasonable, the readier, to giue you the best satisfaction I can in any thing else, whensoeuer you shall be pleased to that end to come hither againe.'

The end of the first part.

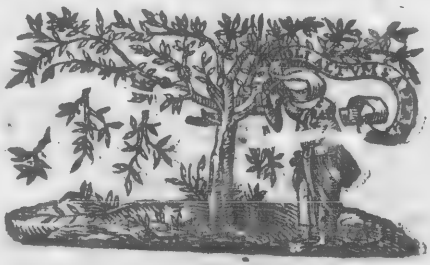
THE

A PLAINE PATH-WAY TO PLANTATIONS:

That is,

A Diſcourſe in generall concerning the Plantation of our Engliſh people in other Countries.

The ſecond Part.



LONDON,
Printed by *G. P.* for *Iohn Marriot.*

TO THE RIGHT HONOVRABLE AND VERY WORTHY, SIR GEORGE CALVERT, Knight, principall Secretarie to the Kings moſt excellent Maieſtie, Peace and *Proſperitie temporall and eternall.*

Right Honourable,

THe fame of your Honours moſt excellent and praiſe-worthy indeuours in attempting, following, and applying of a *Plantation* of ſome of our Engliſh Nation in that remote, and yet obſcure, and deſolate Countrie, the Country commonly called *Newfoundland*, hath encouraged and emboldened me, a ſtranger to your Honour, but a well-willer to all ſuch worthy workes, to preſent vnto your Honour, and to publiſh vnder your Honours Name, ſome part of my plaine and impoliſhed Labours, which for the furtherance and haſting on of thoſe moſt worthy, and at this preſent for our Countrie of *England*, moſt neceſſarie attempts of Plantations in farre and forraine parts, but ſpecially and namely in *Newfoundland*, aboue the reſt, I haue aduentured

to offer to the common view, in hope and desire somewhat thereby to moue and stirre vp our people, chiefly the poorer and meaner sort, (which, for want of Plantation abroad, are ready, by want and penurie, to pine and perish at home) in better sort to affect and addict themselues to the same.

Which worke of mine, though rude and meane, if your Honour shall, in consideration of the matter and substance thereof vouchsafe to accept, and thinke not vnworthy of Passage abroad, as it shall notably protect my Labours from the enuious mindes of the malicious, and the carping tongues of the captious, so shall it stirre vp my selfe with all heartie affection, to rest deuoted to your Honours seruice and these employments, and to poure out my deuoutest praiers to the Highest, the Lord of all, for your Honours all and euer health and happinesse.

Your Honours humbly to command,

RICHARD EBVRNE.

THE

THE PATH-WAY TO PLANTATIONS.

The second Part.

The Speakers be { *Respire*, a Farmer. / *Enrubie*, a Merchant.

Respire.

GOD blesse you, good Sir: according to your courteous Offer, I am come againe, in hope to be further satisfied by you, touching the Conference we lately had in hand.

Enr. You are very welcome, Let me heare therefore, what it is that you desire to be further satisfied in.

Resp. *The Enterprises themselues* (Plantations I meane) *you haue well shewed me, to be in themselues very commendable and good, and for our Land and Nation, at this present exceeding necessarie: yet, as I suppose, there cannot, or there will not, sufficient and conuenient meanes be had for the expedition and performance therof, as is requisite: as may appeare by the ill successe, the giuing ouer, or slow proceeding of such Actions heretofore from time to time, to the notable hinderance of the Gospel, the great dishonour and reproach of our Nation, and the*

extreme losse and disadvantage of the Vndertakers and Aduenturers: and them to what end is it to take in hand impossibilities?

The best course to be taken for Plantations, is by Act of Parliament.

Enr. You say well: and therefore for speedie and due remedie in this behalfe, especially and aboue all other things, as wherein alone, the *true and perfect cure of those euils* doth consist, it were to be wished, that by *Act of Parliament*, some good courses might speedily be taken throughout the Land, by which it might effectually be accomplished. For *Plantations* indeed *are properly a matter of publique and generall, and not*, as the practice is with vs, *of priuate and particular Action.*

If it seeme to any a matter too meane, and vnworthy a *Parliamentarie consideration*, for my part I protest, I can in no wise be of their opinion, vnlesse I may plainly be taught, and informed, that it is no part of a *Fathers care*, to place abroad his Children, as they grow vp, but to keepe them still vnder his owne Roofe, till they eate him out of House and home: or of an *Housholders prouidence* to foresee, that his Meyny exceed not his meanes: or of the *Sheepheards dutie*, when his Flocke is increased, to prouide them larger pastures: or of the *Gardiners charge*, when his plants and sets are ouer-thicke, and doe incomber the ground, to remoue & disperse them into other plots, where hauing more roome, they may bigger grow, and better prosper.

Resp. *Till that may be obtained, which all men know, cannot possibly be on a suddaine, and those attempts being now begun, doe necessarily require speedie and much supply, and continuall furtherance, lest else, besides all other euils that befall on vs, which is written in the Gospel,* Luk. 14. 29. viz. *hauing laid such foundations, and being not able to performe them, all that behold them, mocke vs, saying: These men, these Englishmen, began Plantations here and there, and now are not able to make an end of any one of them; what courses might there be taken for the speedie effecting of them in some tolerable measure and commendable manner?*

Enr. Till some good course that way, a thing in mine opinion much to be desired, may be obtained and prouided, if I might be bold to speake my minde (and toward a common good, why should it not be free, and without offence for any man as a well willer to so good a worke to speake, since as it hath been well and of old obserued, *Aliquando est aliter oppertune locutus*, A meane man

man may sometime speake to the purpose?) I could be willing to acquaint you or any other, with what inferiour courses I haue conceiued might the meane while be taken and followed, for the bringing of the same to some tolerable estate and reasonable good effect.

Resp. *I pray you let me heare them: for I hope, no man will dislike with any man to put to his helping hand to doe any good in this great Worke, which so much concerneth all: specially, when as you intend not to vrge or binde any man to your words, but leaue it free to all men to accept or reiect, as it pleaseth them.*

What inferior courses might be taken to further these attempts.

Enr. Trusting then of fauourable acceptation I will speake what I thinke. Two things there be aboue all other most materiall and necessarie for [illegible] a businesse to be prouided, that is, men and money, People to goe to the Plantation, and Prouision to set them forth. Both which howsoeuer to some they may be thought impossible to be had, I am perswaded, if good courses for them might be vsed, though not without some difficultie (And *what high and worthy enterprize is there, that euer hath without some difficultie beene atchieued?*) may sufficiently be obtained.

Money to be had. First, By Voluntaries. Secondly, By personall Aduenturers.

1 For Money: well knowne it is, that many Honourable and other worthy Persons haue this way employed much, and no doubt intend to proceed accordingly.

2 It cannot be, but that some of those that aduenture in person intending there to inhabit, doe, and will goe some of them sufficiently and many [illegible] some-what prouided that way. Few will goe with an empty purse.

Thirdly, By generall Collections.

3 For procuring what farther shall be needfull, it seemeth vnto me, it were verie requisite, and a thing not verie hard to be obtained by some or other, that some *Letters Patent* vnder the great Seale of *England*, or other like course might be set forth for some generall and *Yeerely Collection* or contribution to that purpose: and the *Brieues* (Bookes rather) for it to be directed either to the Lord *Bishops* of euerie Diocesse, or to the *Sherife* of euerie Shire, by them to be dispersed into euerie Parish. For likely it is, that many well-disposed able men would giue to this great and worthy worke more liberally, then to others many of farre lesse importance (and yet good summes of Money, haue thus beene oft collected) specially, if men may perceiue, by the remouing and

departure

departure of any, it redounds indeed, *as is pretended*, to the common good.

Fourthly, By Hospitall Money.

4 Probable also it is, that the Iustices of euerie Shire, vpon good intimation of the cause vnto them, would be pleased to bestow some part of that Money which quarterly at their Sessions is receiued by the name of *Hospitall Money*, toward the setting forth of some maimed Souldiers, or some other poore of the said Countrey, yeerely, into some or other of those Plantations.

Fifthly, By Moneys giuen to the vse of the Poore.

5 Neither is it improbable, that the Churchwardens and Ouerseers for the Poore, that haue (as in sundry Parishes within this Land they haue) seuerall portions and summes of Money by well-disposed people in their last Wils or otherwise, giuen and bequeathed for and toward the relieſe of the Poore in their Parish, committed to their charge and custodie, may be *perswaded* and *drawne*, or otherwise *caused* to conferre and lay out the said portions or summes of Money or the greatest part thereof in this sort, to the setting forth of some of the Poore of their Parish, Children or other, that else must within the same continually be relieued and maintained.

Resp. *That were very vnreasonable and euill too, I thinke: for what conscience were this, to falsifie the trust reposed in them, and to defraud their Poore of their relieſe?*

Enr. No euill, no wrong, no defrauding at all, howsoeuer you vpon the suddaine doe so take it: but rather this were a readie way to employ it indeed to their vse, to whom by the *Donours* it was properly intended: whereas now, for the most part, you shall find, if you obserue it well, such moneys and the profit thereof arising, are conuerted to the ease of the Rich, and not to the relieſe of the Poore. And at the best hand you can reckon it, if the Poore be thereby any thing relieued, it is but *ad diem*, for the verie present: but being laid out in that manner which I meane and mention, the Poore and their posteritie too, yea, and the whole Parish from whence it is taken, shall thereby be relieued, bettered, and benefited *for euer*.

But not to make a long answer to so short and shallow an Obiection, whatsoeuer any shall pretend against that I say, so long as I haue the example of that most holy and famous Doctour of the Church, S. *Ambroſe*, on my side, who for redeeming of Christian Captiues,

Ambroſ. de Offic. lib. 2. cap. 27.

Captiues, brake the verie Vessels of Gold and Siluer that were in his Church, and making money thereof, employed it to that vse, saying, *The Sacraments need not Gold, which were purchased for vs without Gold:* And *Aurum Ecclesia habet, non vt seruet, sed vt eroget:* The Church hath Gold not to keepe it, but to lay it out to good and pious vses. I shall not feare to answer the same. I will inferre, if S. *Ambrose* did well to employ *Bona Ecclesiæ*, euen the Treasures of the Church vpon redemption of the Poore, they cannot be proued to doe ill, that shall employ *Bona Pauperum*, the Goods of the Poore, their owne Money, vpon the Poore, and to their owne vses.

Resp. *I see now I did mistake, and not you: and I hope you will beare with my ignorance and rashnesse.*

Enr. Your words offended not me any thing at all: for by your opposition no hurt hath risen to the cause. Truth is neuer better cleared, then when it is some-what oppugned and contradicted.

Sixthly, By Moneys giuen to the vse of the Church.

Resp. *It seemeth so in this very case: for by your former speeches and example me thinkes I doe now see, that it were no fault, but a good and pious fact, if such Moneys also as doe belong to Churches,* as here and there some-what to that vse remaining, is yet to be found, *were likewise employed to this vse we speake of, as which in good probabilitie would be more acceptable to God, to be bestowed in such a necessitie, as this is, vpon the Temples of the Holy Ghost, then vpon Churches made of Lime and Stone, which without these Moneys are and may be sufficiently repaired and adorned.*

Enr. Your collection is good and religious. That must needs be true pietie which is coupled with pittie, for God will haue mercie rather then Sacrifice. But let vs goe on.

Resp. *I hearken when you will speake of the Lotterie, which you know was set vp in London, and in many places abroad in the Country many times for Virginia,* as it was said.

Seuenthly, By the Lotterie.

Enr. 7. I dislike not the Lotterie neither, so as it were well vsed, and people had the wit, not to run out by it, to their vndoing. But I know it hath lost the loue of the Countrey, both for that it robd the Countrey of her Money wonderfully: for out of our Shire onely, when it was here but a few yeeres agoe, it is thought to haue carried away many hundred pounds, so

that Money was neuer plentie here since, and for that we neuer heard of any good that was done with it. If they that had the imployment of it, had made knowne vnto euerie Countie (though seuerally) what had beene gotten out of it by the Lotterie that yeere, and offered to employ it on so many of the Poore of the said Countie (if they could be gotten to goe) as it might conueniently suffice vnto, it would haue yeelded the Countie good content for the present, and haue gained a better welcome to it selfe another time. But the matter being vsed as it was, if any yet doe like of it, they may aduenture it againe, if they list: who, if they would giue *voluntarily*, but the fifth part of that some of them lost desperately that way, (for I know some my selfe that, by their owne reports, lost ten, twentie, yea, thirtie pound a man) might be counted good Benefactours.

Resp. *Of the Lotterie enough: but besides, if you haue any more to say, I pray you proceed with it.*

8. By some ratable imposition.

Enr. 8. If the former courses suffice not, I see not but that some ratable Imposition might be procured to be laid vpon the abler sort, as in time of warre, for setting forth of Souldiers, to be employed vpon such as shall be transported, from those parts (the Parish, Tithing, or Hundred) where it is raised. And I am verily perswaded there is not a Parish in the Land, that would not willingly be at any reasonable charge for the setting forth of any such poore bodie, as should either voluntarily offer himselfe, or by authoritie be taken vp, to goe in that Action from time to time. In truth I haue heard men of good sense and substance say, they would be verie willing to bestow out of their Parish twentie nobles or ten pounds a yeere, towards the apparelling and setting forth of some of their poorer sort, so as they might be assured they should not, after a yeere or two, as from the *Irish* some haue done, come home againe, and encomber them worse then before.

9. By base monies for those purposes and places to be stamped.

9 Besides, if it might be thought fit and obtained, that for those Plantations some store of base Moneys, as of Brasse, Copper, or little better, might be stamped (all English Coynes and Plate of Gold and Siluer, being there and thence prohibited, vnlesse and vntill the Countreys themselues doe or shall hereafter yeeld Metall for them) I coniecture, how probably let

others

others iudge, the vse thereof would proue exceeding beneficiall to this purpose.

Resp. *That were a strange course indeed, and is it possible any good this way might be wrought?*

Enr. Verie much I thinke. For thereby, first, The wealth of all such as passe ouer (any reasonable proportion in the Exchange both for value and valour thereof being held) should instantly, among themselues, be much increased. A thing so materiall as nothing more, for without infinite store of Money can be no good Plantation any where. The vse and benefits of such money.

Secondly, Such as passe ouer, should be occasioned to lade away with them store of our English commodities for building, for houshold, &c. which happely they would not haue done, if they might carrie with them their English Moneys, and once hauing such things there, they will doe them more pleasure and good, then till they come there, they could presuppose.

Thirdly, Such as are there, should be the more occasioned to vse all industrious meanes to get vp the commodities of those Countreys, to barter and trucke withall for such things as shall *merchantwise* be brought to them from hence, knowing well that their Money will not much be regarded nor receiued of our men.

Fourthly, It would make them delight the more in Tillage and breed of Cattell, because Siluer and Gold Coynes, the very begetters of *hoarding couetousnesse* wanting, their chiefest riches must needs consist in *Corne* and *Cattell*.

Fifthly, They being rich within themselues (for such Money while it holds value, is as good, where it is currant, as any other) should yet be poore to others-ward among whom it is not currant, which would make them the lesse desired of, and the lesse to feare any such as seeke for spoile and prey.

Sixthly, By this meanes, we should oft receiue from them good store of forraine Coynes, receiued by them for Fish and other commodities sold to such as come to trade there.

Seuenthly, Moreouer, Hereby the great hurt that some imagine is to be feared by those Plantations in carrying away of our Gold and Siluer, would easily, and that

both to our and their great aduantage be auoided.

Resp. *And in truth, many doe complaine of the carriage away of our Money out of our Land, and I perceiue by you, that it is likely a great deale of it goes this way.*

Enr. It must needs be so, if the workes goe forward in any sort: and then note, whatsoeuer is gone ouer Sea that way, neuer returnes againe. We receiue backe but either nothing at all, or else but some commodities of those Countries, as Fish, Timber, Salt, &c. And therefore this is a thing in mine opinion that must timely and carefully be lookt vnto, or else the Coyne and Treasure of our Land will, by these Plantations, *if once they goe well and roundly forward,* within a while be extremely spent and exhausted. For say for a triall or example, there should goe twentie thousand, and each of them to carrie but ten pounds a man (a small reckoning and poore stocke to begin withall) yet that comes to in the whole, to two hundred thousand pounds. Now by this, guesse of the rest.

Resp. *This is very plaine: yet men will hardly heare of this base money, because of the strangenesse and noueltie of the matter.*

Enr. If any thinke this matter strange, let him but enquire, and he shall be informed at full, that at the first in all Lands, *such coine was either only, or most common.* That it is not yet much aboue one Age agoe, that in England it selfe it was in vse: that in our time Ireland had it: and, that at this day, if Trauellers tell true, Spaine it selfe, for all her Indian Siluer mines and Golden mountaines, vpon good policie, is not without it. And if it were as strange and new a course, as it is old and common, yet if necessitie so require, better it is, I thinke, to be vsed then some other more vsuall and lesse profitable. But leauing that to iudgement and consideration of the wise and iudicious, I professe, that for my owne part, I doe rest resolued, *That there can no good Plantation be made by vs any where, without the vse, and great store of such base monies.*

Tenthly, By Gold and Siluer Coynes.

10. Yet I say further, if the continuance of Gold and Siluer coines shall be thought more necessary for these employments, then I conceiue them to be, that such a course may be taken (the like whereof hath oft been practised in sundry kingdomes and and dominions vpon lesse occasion then this) that, both

both our present coines may remaine safe within our Land, and yet many thousands of pounds in gold and siluer may be conferred on those that shall dwell and inhabit in those new Plantations, without any pound or penny charge almost to those that shall the same, on them, for their enriching and incouragement there, conferre and bestow.

Resp. *I doe not well vnderstand you in this: by better thinking on your words, it may be I shall: but for your base monies, I preconceiue one very great inconuenience of it, whensoeuer it shall be called in. The fall of mony,* as Experience hath proued in England many times heretofore, *will be a great preiudice and impouerishment vnto all them on whom it doth alight.*

Enr. 1. That need not to bee feared (vnlesse the Countries themselues happen to yeeld better metals) for many generations yet to come. 2. That losse will bee recompensed by the vse thereof an hundred fold, before any such fall doe, or can come. 3. And it may, whensoeuer it doth come, so equally be diuided by times, that it may so easily bee borne, that the posterities may haue little cause thereby to complaine, that they beare some part of the burthen of their Progenitors. *Commoditas quaque sua fert incommoda secum.* No commoditie but hath his discommoditie with it, which must be borne with for a greater good.

An obiection of the fall of base monie answered.

Resp. *I cannot dislike that you say: Proceed, I pray you.*

Enr. If, either order might be taken, or people be perswaded, that they which goe ouer might leaue behinde them, that (I will not say *Superfluitie* and *Excesse*, which both the place and plentie wherein we liue (God be thanked) doe, and happely may afford vs, but that) *Varietie, Costlinesse, Statelinesse, Delicacie, Brauery* and *Abundance* in Apparell, Diet, Building, and all other Prouisions, which here many doe vse, it cannot easily be estimated, how much it might auaile to the speedy furtherance, and cheape setting forth of these worthy workes. Frugalitie and Parsimonie, like that of ancient times, will better befit the infancie and vprisings of any commonwealth which euer haue beene, and necessarily *must be*, or else they will neuer frame well, *rude and plaine.* It was neuer better with *Rome* it selfe, (whose best men, saith one of their best Authours,

11. By frugall expenses in Diet, &c.

in priuatis rebus, ſuiſque ſumptibus minimo contenti, tenuiſſimo cultu viuebant, &c. In priuate eſtates, and matters of their owne charges, contented with a very little, did liue with very ſlender prouiſion) then when her *Conſuls* and *Dictators* were taken from the plough, and her *Senators* ſerued at the table in *earthen* plate: and neuer merrier in *England*, then when *Farmers* would weare none other, then their owne home made cloth; when *Gentlemen* delighted to haue plentie, rather then daintie, at their tables, and the beſt *Houſekeepers* held them rather to their owne countrie yeeld, then to forraine and farre fetcht prouiſion.

An extrauagant.

Some be of the minde, That *though all other meanes failed*, if they alone that roiſt and riot out their goods and wealth in pride and vanitie, in drunkenneſſe and gluttony, and other like diſorderd courſes: And many there be, (woe be to them therefore, as witneſſeth the holy Ghoſt *Eſa.* 5. 11. and 22. and *cap.* 22. 13. *Ezek.* 16. 40. *Luk.* 16. 19. and other places moe.) that indeed doe ſo lauiſh and waſte that they haue, by ſuch intemperate and deuilliſh courſes, as if they were *nati conſumere fruges*, had no other thoughts but how to hauocke and ſpoile, and made that the very end of their life here, to ſee the end of all before they goe hence: If theſe, I ſay, could be either *perſwaded* or *compelled* to beſtow that, or but halfe that, (ſo luxurious is our land become) which ſo prodigally and profanely they profuſe and ſpend vpon this pious, good, and neceſſary vſe, that that alone, would *abundantly ſuffice* to ſupply all the wants of this worke, and to bring it to a ſpeedy and an excellent end. But ſince there is little hope that they which will not ſee their owne ſhame, and foreſee their and theirs vndoing and ouerthrow, ſhould haue any minde or care of others (of the common good) I will not vouchſafe the Obſeruation thereof any number in my Account, but leaue it as an *Extrauagant*, to themſelues and others, not denying yet, but that ſometimes, *Quò minimè credas, Gurgite piſcis erit*: where is leaſt hope, there may be ſome helpe.

12. By the godly parſimonie of the richer ſort at home.

12. But if the richer and better ſort of our people, men of good place and faſhion, whom God hath bleſſed with plenty and abundance of worldly wealth, and great ſtore of riches, could

could be pleased and induced out of their gratuitie to God, and loue to their countrey and poorer brethren therein, to pare off a little of their superfluities and delicacies, which from their tables, and their apparell, &c. might well be spared, and bestow and imploy it vpon such good vses as these, the helping and setting forth of the poorer sort, the ridding and clearing of this their owne countrie, which they see ouer-laid with multitude, and the planting and inhabiting of other Countries, I suppose without any dammage and want to themselues, they might doe a worke acceptable to God, beneficiall to many, and to these workes of Plantations much auaileable and helpefull. I haue read of the *Lacedemons*, a people among the heathen of speciall note for their vertuous and good conditions, that vnderstanding some of their neighbours in a time of famine to be in great want, pittying their distresse, and hauing no other wayes wherewith to releeue them, they did by a generall consent saue one meale apeece, and sent that to their needy neighbours, who found themselues thereby wonderfully refreshed. I would not wish that any should pinch his body, and eat a bit the lesse, or weare a garment the worse for this matter: it would abundantly suffise, and rise to a great account, if those that are able, and doe abound, would spare, I say not one meale in a weeke, nor two in a moneth, but and it were, but the valew of one weekes expences in a whole yeere, which without any feeling or signe at all, as it were, might easily be deducted from the whole, and their bellies nothing the lesse fed and filled, nor their bodies any thing the worse clothed and couered. Saint *Paul* in his time found the *Macedonians* so ready to well doing, that in their pouertie, yea their extreme pouertie, their rich liberalitie abounded euen to strangers, and I hope it is not out of hope that our rich English people in our time may bee induced and moued out of their superfluitie and great abundance, to conferre somewhat this way on their neere neighbours and natiue countrimen. Lacedemonians.

Some of these, or rather all these courses put in practice, for *Singula si valeant, iuncta necesse iuuent*, it cannot bee there should want in common purse, mony and meanes, (for what can want, where mony wants not?) for the speedy and ready ex-

expedition and accompliſhment of theſe worthy exploits.

Reſp. *Your conceits for raiſing of mony ſeeme to me, to be exceeding good and ſufficient: but I thinke, you cannot as eaſily conceiue like meanes for getting of people to goe to theſe Plantations.*

Enr. For getting of people to be tranſplanted, the intended Proiect I ſee, is, That none be conſtrained thereunto, but onely ſuch admitted, as of themſelues be willing, and doe offer themſelues vnto it. Which holding, it ſeemeth to me it were good.

To procure people to goe, what meanes might be vſed. 1. By Proclamation.

That either by ſome Proclamation, or Eſcript in print, notice of the intended Plantation, tógether with ſome [a] declaration of the benefits, commodities, and priuiledges which they of euery qualitie, that will goe ouer to inhabit there, ſpecially the three firſt yeeres ſhall receiue & enioy, were giuen throughout the Land, as well in euery [b] pariſh Church, as in euery market towne, *to trie who will be willing*. For now many heare not of it at all, many, becauſe it is but a *Rumour*, beleeue not the report thereof, and in a manner all, becauſe they haue no certaine intelligence, either of the preſent ſtate of the Countrey to be planted, or of the benefit there to be had, and of the manner of proceeding therein, regard it not. This way preſent triall would be made, who *would giue in their names*, to that end: and if the Inland doe not, yet the Seacoſt townes like enough would ſomewhat hearken vnto it.

a There is a preſident of this forme ſet forth by *Robert Harecourt* Eſquire, in the end of his Deſcription of his voyage to *Guiana*.

b This I ſee is now reaſonably well performed by Captaine *R. Whitbourne* who hath obtained his Bookes to be diſperſed into all pariſhes: ſauing that his proiect is for one onely plantation, viz. *Newfound Land*, but that I intend ſhould be for all, or one after another ſucceſſiuely, as they go on, and with more Authoritie.

2. Thereto it would alſo further much, I ſuppoſe, if therewithall ſome good order might bee ſetled in euery Citie and Hauen towne within the Land, whether they that dwell neere thereto might repaire, for Conditions and Agreements about their habitation otherwhere, & Tranſportation thither. When men muſt ſeek for very notice only of theſe matters 100 miles or more, it makes them weary to thinke of it. All the helps that can be had, for eaſie, ſafe, certaine, and commodious notice and remouing, will be all little enough, and exceeding requiſite and behouefull.

3. Likewiſe, if order could be taken that the remouing of thoſe that depart hence, might bee principally made in ſome parts of the Land one yeere, and in ſome another, that ſo all that vpon good notice thereof had and taken, be ſet therehence

to

to be remoued, might be remoued all together at once, or at twice at the moſt: This, probable it is, would cauſe many to be more willing, then otherwiſe they will be, to depart hence, while they ſhall ſee ſome good ſtore and companie of their kinsfolkes, friends, neighbours, and acquaintance, to goe away together with them. For, going into a ſtrange place, men cannot but as it were naturally deſire both to goe, and to be there with ſuch as they know before and are formerly acquainted with, rather then with meere ſtrangers; and be fearefull to commit both themſelues and all that they haue, wholy, to thoſe that they neuer ſaw before.

Fourthly, This could not but be a good motiue and incou- Fourthly, By prouiſion ſupplyed.
ragement to many, but a farre greater this, if ſpeciall order ſhal alſo be taken, that thoſe that ſhall depart hence, be ſupplyed moſt carefully and ſufficiently with all kind of prouiſions fit and neceſſarie for the life of man, which thoſe parts and Countreys yeeld not; as Food and Apparrell, Corne to ſowe and plant, Cattell great and ſmall for breed and other vſes, Iron, edge-Tooles, Armour, &c. that ſo hauing all ſuch neceſſaries duly and ordinarily brought vnto them, they may haue euerie thing in their Markets to be bought and ſold, ſome-what like as they were vſed to haue them here in England.

And this muſt be continued not for once or twice only, nor at an Harbour or two, but in euerie part of the Plantations, and from time to time, till the Plantations ſhall be able of themſelues to ſtand vp, and continue without them. If people may perceiue ſuch order to be ſetled, and like to be carefully obſerued; as it will well comfort the friends of the departed that remaine here behind; ſo it will both comfort and incourage thoſe that ſhall depart hence, ſeeing themſelues well to be prouided for, and not left, being once remoued, to all aduentures and vncertainties.

This matter is of that moment, that it is the firſt thing and the greateſt that troubles the minde of any, when ſpeech is made to them of departing hence into any new Countrey, of dwelling in a forraine Land: What they ſhall do there? How they ſhall liue when they come thither? And it takes that deepe impreſsion in the heart of many, that vnleſſe they may

foreſee a cleare and euident reſolution thereof, there is no more poſsibilitie to perſwade them to remoue, then to run themſelues into the Fire, or caſt themſelues headlong into the Sea. This doubt therefore being once well cleared, and people made to ſee that they ſhall not need to feare this way, people will be three times more willing to goe then yet they are.

It is not all one for men to goe into any of the preſent Plantations, as it hath beene to goe into Ireland, whither if any could goe prouided of Money in any meaſure, he needed nothing elſe. For there he was ſure to haue any thing he needed for his Money, at a better and cheaper rate then in England. But in theſe places he muſt haue all things either carried along with him, or brought thither after him, and that at a dearer price and higher reckoning then in England.

People of our breed cannot liue as the Saluages and Natiues there do, that is, more like beaſts then men. Whatſoeuer therefore thoſe Countreys yeeld not, and people in theſe haue beene vſed to haue, muſt moſt carefully be prouided them, leſt left deſtitute that way, they ſeeme as caſt out into wild and forſaken wildernesſes, and expoſed to famine and other miſeries too grieuous to them to beare.

Reſp. *I haue heard, that our men haue in ſome of our Plantations felt much extremitie this way.*

Enr. If any ſuch diſaſterous accident haue befallen any, I wiſh the notice thereof buried in the Gulfe of Obliuion: and for my part I neither will reuiue the memorie of any ſuch, nor by my good will, heare it recited by any, becauſe I know, it will inflict ſuch a wound in theſe actions, as will not be healed againe by the plaiſter of fiue times as many good euents.

Reſp. *I thinke ſo too: For except a man be of a verie dull apprehenſion, he will quickly thence conclude, that men were better to abide and liue in pouertie, yea in beggerie at home, then to periſh and dye by penurie and miſerie abroad. And indeed, no man can ſay, but that better it were, that men were not remoued at all, then not ſeconded and ſupplyed at all. Bona benè,* Good actions be then good, when they be handled and acted in a good ſort. *But hoping that future times may bring forth fairer euents, and former perils (if any haue beene, for more may be told, then is true) produce*

greater

greater careſulneſſe and diligence, for your courſes mentioned, though, I like them well, yet I cannot beleeue they will be ſufficient to worke your intended effect.

Enr. 5 If theſe courſes ſuffice not, as I beleeue alſo that they will not (for ſo are men, *Engliſhmen* eſpecially, and of them, moſt of all the In-land ſort, *wedded* to their natiue Soile like a Snaile to his Shell, or as the Fable is, *A Mouſe to his Cheſt*, that they will rather euen ſtarue at home, then ſeeke ſtoare abroad) me thinkes it might be good, that ſtrict order were taken, to take vp all ſuch vagrant perſons, as now contrarie to the Statute wander about the Countrey loitering, begging, &c. of which ſort many are ſtrong and able perſons, ſuch as could and would worke and labour well, if they were well ordered and employed. And that ſuch, I meane the ſtrong and able ones, were ſet forth at the common charge of the place, either where they are apprehended, or ought to be relieued. 5. Fy Vagarant Perſons.

Sixthly, To theſe might be added ſuch as are impriſoned and conuicted for any ſmall offences, not deſeruing death; as for picking, and ſtealing, Sheepe-ſtealing, &c. and ſome too of an higher degree, if the Magiſtrate ſhall ſee it good. Of theſe many commit ſuch crimes, for verie need and pure hunger (For what will not Neceſsitie, *which knowes no Law*, and Hunger, *which breakes ſtone walles*, enforce men vnto?) who no doubt being firſt chaſtiſed, and then well gouerned, and of better meanes prouided, may proue honeſt and good men and women afterward. Let no man deſpaire, no not of ſuch, remembring and conſidering well what the Apoſtle ſaith of and to the Corinthians, 1. *Cor* 6.9, 10, & 11. and *Tit.* 3.3, 4. and *Gal.* 6.1. And what is written of thoſe that followed *Dauid*, before he came to the Crowne, 1. *Sam.* 22.2. which for breuities ſake, to recite and apply, I purpoſely forbeare. Theſe of both ſorts, might be kept in ſome Houſes of Correction next adioyning, till they can conueniently be ſhipt away. This courſe well obſerued and continued two or three yeeres, would ſo purge the Land of euill weeds, as *Galen* neuer better purged his diſeaſed Patients, nor *Hercules* the *Augean* Stables. 6. Priſoners

Reſp. *I hearkned when you would reckon vp maimed and aged*

Souldiers, of whom the Romans in their Colonies, as I haue heard, made great reckoning.

Seuenthly, Maimed Souldiers.

Enr. 7 It may be: but the state of our Plantations and their Colonies be verie different. They prouided in theirs liberall maintenance for such as could not labour, but we prouide roome in ours for them onely that can [illegible] Maimed Souldiers are oftentimes not seruiceable, and therefore will be a burthen to the whole where they come. [illegible] of them be fit for labour, and able to doe themselues and [illegible] Vndertakers good, I doubt not but that they which are to prouide for them allowance at home, will be as willing and [illegible]e to prouide it for them otherwhere also, if they may perceiue it to be more beneficiall for all parties. And in this time of our long continued Peace, God be thanked, the number of them is not increased, but decreased to a small account. When occasion doth so require, and opportunitie serue, there is no doubt but that way, they also may be prouided for, and helpe to make vp the number.

Resp. *Proceed, I pray you, with the rest.*

Eighthly, Cottagers.

Enr. 8 There is yet a better course and a readier then any of the former, and that is, Whereas there be infinite store of houses, erected in corners and waste plots vnder Hedges, and by the high-waies sides, contrarie to the Statute of 31. *Eliz.* 7. if due order might be taken, that by a certaine day in euerie yeere (for all, as euacuation in dangerous Apostumes, cannot be done at once) a certaine number, as a third or fourth part of them, designed for the purpose, by time, by lot, or other like meanes, might be quite taken downe, and vtterly razed for euer, the Inhabitants inioyned by that day to prouide for themselues otherwhere, such Houses as by Law ought to stand, or else to depart the Land, to some or other of the places to be inhabited, assured there to be prouided for in a farre better sort.

Ninthly, Inmates.

9. To these ought to bee added another sort no lesse combersome to the Land, viz. *Inmates*, I meane such, as being in no possibilitie of the reuersion of the house wherein they dwell, or of any other legall Tenement, doe, contrary to the Statute likewise

likewise, thrust into houses with and vnder the right Tenants. Of both which sorts, together the *Land doth so superabound*, that in many parishes, I speake but what I know, *they are halfe or more then halfe so many as the right Tenants, and legall Inhabitants are.* The riddance of them, would be an inestimable clearing of the Country of many an vntoward generation, and a notable disburdening of many a parish of intolerable and annuall expenses.

Resp. *These, aboue any other, I could wish were rid out of the Countrie: I and such other poory husbandmen, doe liue much the worse for them. And our Land, I am perswaded, can neuer thriue, so long as these Drones doe incomber it.*

Enr. Indeed they are a superfluous Multitude, and fittest of all other to be rid away: as who, not onely in regard of their personall estates, haue for the most part little here to trust vnto: but also, are for their bodies and breeding, best able, a thing very necessary in these intendments, to indure any hardnesse or labour by Sea or by Land, within doores or without. Whom therefore it were no reason, either fooliſh pittie of the Gouernours on the one side, or couetous fauour of greedie Landlords on the other side, should any longer here retaine, to their owne, and the whole countries great hurt and incombrance.

The States of our Land, in making of that Statute, doe shew sufficiently that they both found then, and foresaw, that much hurt did and would accrew vnto this our Land by this superfluous crue, who if they had as prudently taken order for their placing elsewhere, from time to time, as they grew vp, as they did prouidently enact *the not placing* of them here, long or this wee should haue had some or other *New England* filled with thousands of them, made as rich and happy by transplantation, as now they are poore and needie subiects to our King by their commoration: and we should not, as now wee are, be pestred with their aboad among vs.

To forbid them to build here, and not to appoint them place to build and plant in elsewhere, vnlesse they could haue forbidden them to bee bred and to breed and increase any where, was to as little purpose, as for a Phisicion to shew his

patient the diſeaſe, but to preſcribe or giue him for his diſeaſe no remedie.

10. Souldiers, in garriſons.

10. If all theſe courſes ſufficed not, and yet I am perſwaded verily the former yeeld might quickly be of young and old an hundred thouſand at the leaſt, I ſee not any ſufficient let or iuſt cauſe, why beyond all theſe both *Souldierlike*, a good great preſſe might not be made of ſome thouſands yeerely of perſons fit to be remoued, which being once tranſplanted thither, as ſouldiers into Garriſon, might ſo be ſeuered, as might ſeat them for habitation, and ſet them (being not loyterers and thriftleſſe fellowes, but men of imployment, handicrafts, labourers, &c.) while warres let not, to ſeruice and employment for the common and their owne priuate good: and alſo *Seruantlike*, a good number of poore mens children, both boyes and maids, but maids eſpecially of nine or ten yeeres old and vpward, be taken vp, which according to the Statute of 43. *Eliz.* 2. and 1. *Jam.* 25. might be placed as ſeruants or apprentices with ſuch as goe ouer to inhabite there.

And ſeruants.

Reſp. *If there ſhould bee ſo great a number, and ſuch kinde of perſons as you intimate, it cannot bee but that many idlers and vnprofitable perſons will goe among them likewiſe, which likely it is will doe more harme then good: Would you then haue no reſpect to be had to ſome rather then other to goe?*

Enr. It is true that as it is here at home, ſo it will be abroad. In a multitude there will euer be ſome that are but vnprofitable, yet would I haue none to be left out (ſo as they be ſeruiceable and not maimed and vtterly vnable) that can be had, becauſe there is ſome hope that Neceſsitie, Occaſion and Opportunity may make many of them to leaue loytering there, that here happely haue nothing elſe to doe: and for that their very preſence and number cannot but be ſome comfort & ſtrength of the Plantation.

But withall, and aboue all, ſpeciall regard ought to be had, to draw thither (as I haue before once or twice inſinuated) men of ſpeciall and preſent employment, that is, men of ſuch Trades, Faculties, Sciences, Handicrafts, Occupations and Employments, as are moſt neceſſary for a preſent and vpriſing common wealth; ſuch, as without whom, there can be no commodious

modious or good dwelling or liuing at all for men, men of our breed & manner of Liuing any where. For mans life you know is such as cannot stand in any good sort without the helpe and supply of many very many other men besides himselfe.

Resp. *What sort of persons are those whom you take to be so necessary, that without them there can be no good Plantation or Cohabitation for men, men of our breed any where?*

Enr. They are these, and the like. Armorers, Bakers, Barbers, Bookesellers, Butchers, Bowmakers, Brewers, Bricklaiers. Carpenters, Chandlers, Clothiers, Coopers, Cutlers, Diers, Drapers Feltmakers Fishers, Fletchers, Fowlers, Fullers. Gardiners, Glasmakers, Glasiers, Glouers, Grocers. Hatters, Horners, Husbandmen, Inkeepers, Ioyners. Labourers, Lymeburners, Linnen-Weauers. Masons, Mariners, Merchants, Millers, Mill-wrights. Nailers, Netmakers. Parchment makers, Pewterers, Phisicians, Potecaries, Pointmakers, Printers. Ropers. Sadlers, Sailers, Saltmakers, Sawyers, Siueyars, Shearmen, Shipwrights, Shoomakers, Smiths, Soapemakers, Souldiers, Surgeons. Tailors, Tanners, Thatchers, Tilers, Turners. Vintners, Vpholsters. Wheelewrights, Wherrymen, Woilen-Weauers, &c Of all these sorts of persons there must goe some. Some of other sorts, as in a common wealth furnished there are many, may be expedient likewise: but these are all so necessary, that it is hard to say, which of them all can be spared, and need not presently to bee had. Diuers sorts of men necessary for a Plantation.

Resp. *But most of these sorts of people are so well set a worke here in England, and so necessary for our common wealth, that few or none of them will be induced to goe hence, and seeke their fortunes other where.*

Enr. Nay, rather they are so ill set a worke here, that many of them haue as much need as any other to seeke worke, employment and dwelling otherwhere. For there bee so many of all Trades, Sciences, and Occupations, that one cannot liue for another. They that be workmen doe often loyter for lacke of worke many dayes & weeks together: and when they can haue worke, are faine to doe it better cheape then they can afford, and were wont to doe. So it is with Shopkeepers, they hardly

can

can finde any place where to set vp shop, all places being already full and ouerfull. Little vtterance of their ware can they make, and are oft informed to take mony so much vnderhand, that they can hardly get or saue thereby.

2. If their owne distresse and present euill state will not preuaile sufficiently with men of these qualities to moue them to goe, considering that such *must be had*, and of some sorts of them great store: (for without thē no Plantation at all can any where be made:) such courses may, and must be taken, partly by the bettring of their estates there, with promise and assurance of some good portions of lands, houses and benefits, if they will goe, and partly by impairing of their estates here, with lesse worke, and worse vtterance, if they will not goe, as may make them either willing, or at least content to goe.

Resp. *You haue spoken much concerning people to be had for a Plantation, that for this matter, I thinke you haue no more to say.*

Enr. Yes, very much. For all these hitherto mentioned, though they be a multitude indeed, and enough to make a very large Plantation out of hand, yet without others conioyned with them, will they bee for the most part, but a rude and silly multitude. You haue forgottē it seemeth & so had I too almost, & no maruell, for I finde them of others but little remembred, one sort of people most needfull of all others to be had; I meane

11. Ministers of the word.

Ministers of the word of God. For whom, if care be not taken, that they may be had, and being had, that they *may forthwith and condignly be prouided for*, which is, *after the example of God himselfe*, who in diuiding the land of *Canaan*, laid out the *Lot of Leui* with the first, and that *a faire and goodly one too*, as you reade. *Num.* 18. and 35. in vaine may we looke for any notable blessing from God vpon the Attempts. If they be altogether omitted and neglected, or shifted off for the present with faire words, cold on a little with beggerly stipend, (a profane kind of pay, and not made partakers, and that in ample sort, with their people, of such meanes as they doe liue vpon, *viz. Trade, Turfe*, and *Tithes*, farewell good Ministrie there for euer: Their portions once seized and setled in the hands of lay men, as too much experience shewes here at home, will neuer in good and due manner and measure bee gotten out againe.

How they may be prouided for.

Wherefore

Wherefore as it is necessary and fit, that the countries be presently distinted into parishes, so withall, and more then so necessary and fit it is, that the Ministers part be allotted and laid out with it. A thing at first, before proper and priuate rights be setled, as easie (I hope) to be had, as to be asked for: which how much the better it is effected, so much the better, and the more, we well assured, shall the worke, the maine worke prosper and please God.

Resp. *But doe you thinke it not lawfull to prouide for the Ministers of the word, otherwise then by tithes, which many will hardly yeeld, now in the time of the Gospel, to be due to them by Gods law.*

Enr. Whether Tithes be due, *De iure diuino*, I leaue to Diuines. But taking that onely which all be agreed vpon, that is, that the Minister must haue a very competent, liberall, and certaine Maintenance, which cannot be lesse then the Tenth. For allotting thereof whether they shall like better to follow the example of our owne Progenitors, the ancient Inhabitants of this Land, who imitating God himselfe in his practice before touched, as we may see with our eyes euery where, though a great part thereof be now taken from the Church by impropriations, and abridged to the Church by Customes, Prescriptions, and other like, did not account the Church to be sufficiently prouided for, vnlesse, besides Tithes and Oblations, it were endowed with some faire portion of good and conuenient ground called the *Glebe*, or in stead of both, both Tithes and Glebe to allot and allow the Church a full Tenth of Ground onely, I meane the tenth part of euery mans Tenure, as he that hath a thousand Acres of ground, to allow an hundred of them to the Church, and so to pay no tithe at all, as which would be more troublesome to the Minister to gather, and more [illegible]ging and labboursome to the parishioner to lay out, as we finde by daily experience here in *England*, I see no great cause why any should refuse or dislike it. For either way the Minister may haue a very sufficient stable and certaine maintenance.

Resp. *This latter way, Ministers of Churches shall be too much incombred with husbandry, and distracted from their studies.*

Enr. They may easily auoyd that, if of the whole, they re-

ſerue out for their owne Table, a reaſonable quantitie onely, as their Glebe here in *England*, and diuide the reſt into Tenements, which they may let to other men, that may yeeld them rents and fines, as doe Tenants here in *England* to their Landlords: after which ſort alſo there be in *England*, ſome lands belonging to Benefices with Cures.

Reſp. *I haue made you digreſſe a little too much happely, by my ſo many queſtions. I pray you, therefore, now returne to that you were ſaying.*

12. Other ſchollers for teaching of youth.

Enr. Beſides theſe, Miniſters of Churches, whether it ſhall not be requiſite, that as great a number almoſt of other Schollers, for the teaching of children, and training vp of youth, as well in the Languages, as in all other good Literature, be likewiſe procured and ſent forth: (for as it is not fit, ſo indeed it is not alwayes poſsible, the Miniſters alone ſhould vndergo this charge alſo.) I leaue it at large, to euery mans conſideration.

Reſp. *That ſuch men*, viz. Miniſters *and* Schoolemaſters *ſhould be had, it muſt needs bee granted to bee moſt requiſite and neceſſary: but I beleeue it will not be very eaſie to procure them. For Schollers now a daies are moſt of them of a tender breed, and ſuch as will hardly brooke the Seas: and England is prouided of many good meanes of Maintenance for them, and therefore they will be loth to ſeeke after leſſe, and worſe otherwhere.*

Meanes that may be vſed for procuring ſuch men to goe.

Enr. To furniſh the Miniſterie and Schooles, the Vniuerſities of our Land, ſolicited therevnto, cannot doe leſſe then ſend forth either of them yeerely ſome few, and it be but two or three apeece. And there are few Dioceſſes in the land beſides, which hauing in them diuers ſufficient and able men in thoſe functions, not yet in any meaſure competently prouided for; may not alſo doe the like. And fit and neceſſary it is, that for the incouragement of men at the firſt, to theſe imployments, there ſhould ſomewhat more then ordinary ſhares, as I may ſay, that is, ſome what more then what will hold but while their breath holds, be propoſed and offered to men of that ranke? For in them alſo the old ſaying happely will bee found true, *Ducimur omnes præmio.*

2. If neither deſire to *further Chriſts kingdome*, nor to ſeeke their owne preferment, can preuaile with any ſo farre as *Sua Sponte*,

Sponte, to giue themselues to so good a worke, I see not why, *the Church it selfe*, or, *the Bishop himselfe*, should not be thought to haue authoritie and power enough to *thrust forth Labourers* into this Harueſt, and to lay this charge vpon such as shall be fit for it, inioyning them *to goe in the Name of God*, as was done, *Act.* 8. 14. and 13. 2. and 15. 22. and *Galat.* 2 9.

3 Such course and care may also be had at the first in diuision of parishes, that all parishes being made of a competent largeneſſe, (& not as here in *England* too too many are, so little that they yeeld the Minister neither one quarter of a comfortable & goodly congregation, or auditorie, nor one halfe of a competent and honest maintenance) both the fewer Ministers may suffice, and they that be, may haue competent and commendable allowance to liue vpon for them and their families.

4. Also it must be considered, that if Schollers, that is, Graduates, and men of note for learning, cannot be had, it may suffise sometimes that such be inuited to the Ministerie, as are of meane knowledge, so as they haue good vtterance, and be of sound and honest life and conuersation.

Resp. *I did little thinke that you would haue thought any such fit for that place.*

Enr. Why not? In *England* it selfe we are faine sometimes to receiue such into the Ministerie, & I beleeue so it wil be as long as *England* is *England*: much more may it be borne within the infancie of a Church, where neither Schooles, nor other means for learned and able men are yet planted. Better such then none.

I haue read in an ancient Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtorie, that on a time there were two lay men that made a voyage vnto the *Indians*, and remaining there a good while, they did in the best manner they could, informe and perswade many of them to the Christian faith, and found the people very tractable. At length returning home, one of them, whose name was *Frumentius*, comming to *Alexandria* his citie, goeth vnto the Bishop of the place, which at that time was *Athanasius*, that renowned Clerke surnamed for his great learning & sincerity in faith *Oculus mundi*, the eye of the world, & acquaints him with the matter, praying him withall, that he would send a Bishop and other Teachers thither, that might goe forward with that worke of

Ruffin. hiſt. Eccleſl. lib. 1. cap. 9. Socrat. hiſt. Eccl. lib. 1. cap. 15.

the Lord, of which he said, there was great hope. *Athanasius* hauing called together for that purpose the Clergie of his citie, considering a little of the matter, stands vp and saith; *And where shall we finde such a man, so fit for this imployment, as your selfe* (Frumentius) *are, in whom is the spirit of our God?* and thereupon presently all the rest approuing it, he made him a Minister, and a Bishop, and sent him backe (with others) forthwith to furnish what he had begun, and the Lord made the worke to prosper in his hand, confirming the word with many signes and wonders following, saith the Historie.

By this story you may see, that holy men of God, euen in the primitiue Church, did not stand much vpon it, to admit meane men, and not professed schollers onely into the Ministerie, where they saw other gifts correspondent: and withall, that Bishops vsed in those times, and had power and authoritie, to send forth men into forraine countries, to preach and plant the Gospel. And of these kinde of men let this suffice.

13. Men of name and note to be Gouernours, &c.

13. But then farther, besides these last mentioned, and aboue all these hitherto spoken of, I adde, there must bee, by some meanes or other, drawne and induced to goe, as Gouernours and Leaders of the rest, *some store of men of Name and Note*, men by whose power and authoritie, greatnesse and grauitie, purse and presence, the multitude afore mentioned, may be encouraged, ordered, and guided. Common sense and reason can sufficiently enforme euery man, that no body can consist without a head, nor Army without a Generall, no company without a Conductor, and no societie without a Ruler. And Nature her selfe teaching the *Amazonian* Bees, not to swarme without their Ladie, and the *Cranes* not to flie without their Leader, may easily teach vs, that we shall transgresse the very order of Nature, and neglect that instinct which is ingraffed in all, if we shall make such a remouall without the conduct of such men, as for their place and power, birth and breed, may be fit to order and rule, to support and settle the rest. And if men of this ranke would once roundly set their foot to this way, and their hand to this worke, as *Moses* did with the Elders of *Israel* towards the Land of *Canaan*, *Æneas* and the noble *Troians* into *Italie*, and *Brutus* and his *Allies* for this Land, it were not to

be

be doubted, but their example and industrie would more preuaile in one yeere or two, to draw multitudes with and after them, then all the proiects hitherto, without such attempted, haue procured.

Resp. *If men of place and authoritie in the Temporall State* (for of them onely you seeme to speake) *be so necessarie vnto such a worke, as you seeme to imply, me thinkes it should be as necessary likewise, that there should goe some, that may carrie like authoritie and place in the estate Ecclesiasticall.*

Enr. I am of the same mind also. It cannot be but requisit and necessarie, that as well for the gouerning of Ministers themselues alreadie made, as also for the ordering or making of more where need is, for the Institution of them to Churches, for the Diuision of Parishes, the endowing, erecting, and consecrating of Churches, and other like Episcopall and Ecclesiasticall duties and emploiments, which must be followed and exercised instantly, if we meane to make a Christian and Religious Plantation indeed, there should go some one or more according to the greatnesse of the Plantation, to be Bishop there, and some others besides, that shall exercise vnder him or them Ecclesiasticall authoritie and iurisdiction, lest faction and confusion, like Tares among the Wheat, grow faster there, then Religion, Order, and Peace of the Church.

14. And that in the Ecclesiasticall estate as well as in the temporall.

Resp. *Now I suppose, you haue said enough for this matter, more it is I am sure, then euer I heard in all my life, and so much as makes me thinke certainly, that if in such a sort, as you haue implyed, and with such persons, a Plantation were set forth, then it would prosper indeed.*

Enr. You thinke I haue said all in all, that can be said: but I tell you, there is one thing yet vnsaid, which (in mine opinion) is more materiall then *any one thing* whatsoeuer hitherto mentioned. That indeed which must and would giue life to all the rest, and without which, the whole attempt whereseoeuer it be, seemes to me, to be like a building on the sand, which you know will in the end haue *a fall*, and the fall thereof will be very great, *Mat. 7.27.*

Resp. *I long to heare what that should be, for I can conceiue no-*

thing to be so much yet wanting to this worke. I pray you hold my thoughts in suspence no longer.

The fifteenth and chiefest of all, is, That his Maiesty would entitle himselfe King of that Countrey in which the present Plantation shall be.

Enr. This it is: That his Maiestie would be pleased to entitle himselfe *King* and *supreme Gouernour* of that Countrey, wherein the Plantation shall proceed, as at this present of *New-found-Land*; that so they that plant and dwell there, may know *directly* and *expresly* vnder *whose dominions they dwell*, and so rest thereby assured of his *Regall protection* and defence vpon all occasions as well as if they remained in *England*. This, this obtained, would encourage and embolden many that now doubt and feare, to goe willingly, and to aduenture goods and life therein resolutely. This would make them ioyfull and iouiall to proceed, who now are doubtfull and fearefull, as those that cannot tell in whose Land, and within whose kingdome it is that they shall dwell there, and that would be loth to dwell but within his Maiesties Dominions.

Resp. *That is knowne sufficiently by his Maiesties Letters Patents, granted to sundry honourable Personages and other, that send thither.*

Enr. It is knowne to them that haue the Patents, but it is not knowne to all them that should goe vnder the Patentees. It is also well knowne by common fame and rumour, but it is not so well knowne, as if by Proclamation it were published in euerie Towne and Citie; not so well, as if in euerie Church, he were prayed for by the Name of *King of that Countrey*, as well as of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*.

Resp. *This must be a matter of great moment, out of doubt. It puts me in mind of somewhat that I read a great while agoe in our English Chronicles, in the time of King* Edward *the third*, viz. *How that when he made claime to the Crowne of France, to which he was the next lawfull heire and successour, yet all his certaine right and iust claime notwithstanding, some of his Allies and Confederates beyond Sea* (being but voluntaries) *refused to assist him in Armes, vnlesse he would first, and vntill he did take on him the stile and Title of* King of France.

Enr. By that you may perceiue, there is something in this particular, more then many doe conceiue. And now touching

these

these two maine points before mentioned, *viz.* the procuring of Men and Money to such a businesse, as we intreat of, let this suffice.

Resp. *And well it may: For vnlesse it be, as you said before, by Act of Parliament, which alone is able to settle an absolute course for these excellent designes, this is as much, I thinke, as by most inferiour courses can well be effected: but yet for my further satisfaction, let me, I pray you, be bold to moue vnto you, a doubt or two more, that come to my mind.*

Enr. Doe you so: I shall doe the best I can to put you out of your doubts. Certaine obiections answered.

Resp. *The course you intimate, is a matter of great expence.*

Enr. It is indeed: But thereof say I, First, Many a particular will beare and discharge his owne: other-some, a great deale of his owne part. 1 Obiect. Answ.

Secondly, A great part of the expences will soone be repaid againe: some, in the Commodities thence returned: some, in the easement and disburdening of their wonted charge and incombrance here at home.

Thirdly, People cannot liue any where without expence.

Fourthly, Be it a matter of some good quantitie, that must arise out of the Common Purse, is not our whole Land able to beare it? Suppose there should goe ten or twentie thousands yearely for a time vnto our Plantations, what were that, with the helpe of particulars, to *Englands Purse?* if in time of war, it were able without any grieuance, almost any feeling, to maintaine sixe or seuen, yea, ten or twelue thousand Souldiers in the Field the whole yeere, from yeere to yeere for a time; as easily might it be able, or else I am much deceiued, to transport, and that with verie competent prouision yeerely, twice as many thousand persons at the least, into those Plantations.

Resp. *The remouing of so many, may seeme superfluous.* 2 Obiect.

Enr. I will not say, but I may be deceiued: But surely in my conceit, It were *necessarie* that there should goe rather more then fewer then I haue said. My reasons are: Answ.

First, The multitude that aboundeth in our Land, is so exceeding great, that without great riddance, the benefit thereof at home, will be little seene, and lesse felt. For more will yerely arise

ariſe then are remoued. To draw out a proportion ſome-what fit in this caſe; there are in *England* onely at this preſent, eight thouſand Pariſhes at the leaſt, as I conieƈture, and certaine it is, as all the Church Regiſters in *England*, I thinke, will iuſtifie, there are more borne euerie yeere, then buried. Say, but two in a Pariſh one with another, and that is with the leaſt, I am ſure, yet that amounts to fixteene thouſand in one yeere. The increaſe being ſuch, what decreaſe there had need be made to bring the whole to abide ſome-what equall, may ſoone be perceiued. Farther, let men looke backe to the beginning of the late Queenes raigne, or there-about, and ſee in what ſtate the Land ſtood then for people, and he ſhall perceiue, that euen then it did begin to exceed: ſo that vnleſſe it may againe be reduced *to that mediocritie at leaſt*, and there ſtand, it can be in no tolerable eſtate. This cannot be effected, but by ſuch a number at leaſt, remoued as I haue intimated.

Reſp. *Indeed within my remembrance, that is, within theſe fourtie or fiftie yeeres, our Pariſh is increaſed in ſuch a ſort, that there be now almoſt twice as many Houſes in it, as once there were, and theſe newly encreaſed, but Cottages moſt of them ſet vp in waſte places of the high-waies: the Inhabitants whereof, are nothing but a burthen vnto vs, and doe verie much trouble and annoy vs, that be the ancient Tenants, and true Houſholders: and I perceiue that the remouing of one or two of them, were to little purpoſe. The greateſt part of them, or rather all, if it were poſſible, muſt be rid away, or elſe we ſhall be little the neere for it. And ſo it had need be, in your vnderſtanding, the whole Land ouer.*

Enr. You conceiue me aright. Secondly, Farther, the Plantations now in hand are diuers: theſe all cannot be ſetled in any forme, nor brought to any good eſtate, without the like numbers tranſported, whereby they may be enabled in euerie of them: Firſt, To occupate or take in forthwith, ſuch a large continent of ground, as may be fit for ſetling the bounds of their Plantation there. Secondly, That they may be able to begin their Cities, Townes, and Pariſhes, in ſuch reaſonable ſpaciouſneſſe, as may become ſo worthy an attempt: which cannot be, vnleſſe their number be ſuch, that they may haue to begin withall, for euerie Citie they build, *a thouſand*; for euerie Mar-

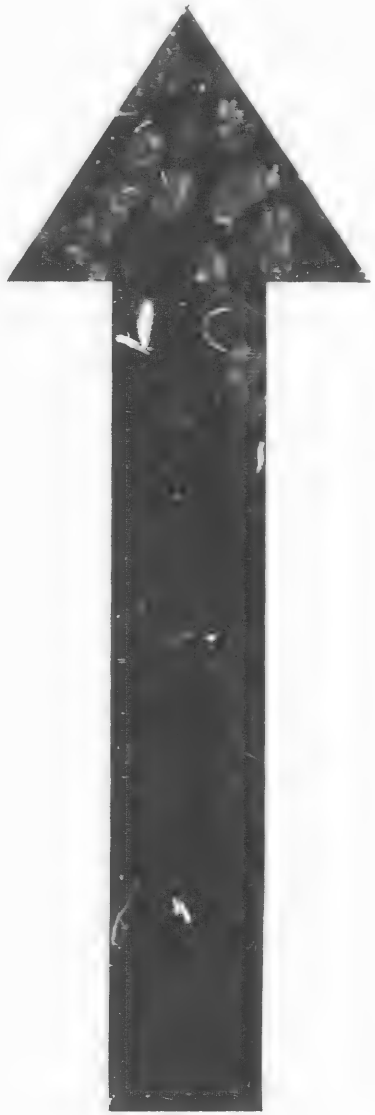
ket

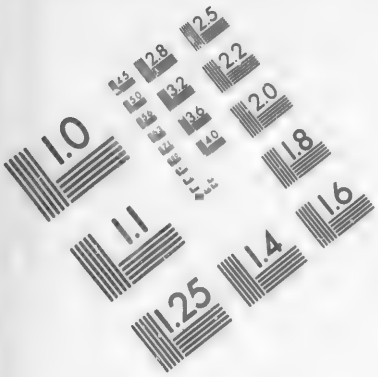
ket Towne, *an hundred*; and for euerie Countrey Pariſh, twentie or thirtie Houſholds at the leaſt. Which begun with ſuch conuenient diſtance, and ſufficient ampleneſſe of ground annexed, may admit in time, a double or treble increaſe. And thirdly, To haue and ſet vp among themſelues, all manner of Sciences, Trades, Handicrafts, and Employments neceſſarie and conuenient for the cohabitation and life of *Man*.

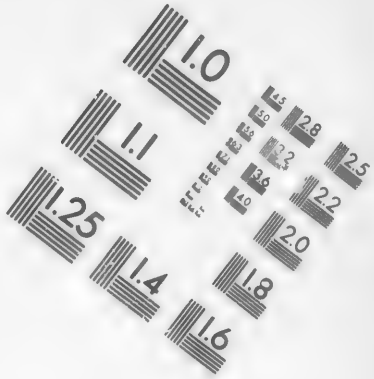
Reſp. *This would require a greater number then yet you haue ſpoken of, I thinke: ſo great out of all queſtion, as in all England is not to be had.* Obiect.

Enr. I am not of your mind: Few men doe well conſider what a number for ſuch a purpoſe in all *England*, is to be had, if there were once good courſes taken for the hauing of them. For my owne part truly, I am fully perſwaded, *That there are few Townes and Pariſhes in England, but haue in them of all ſorts one and other that might to ſuch a purpoſe be ſpared, enough to make and plant in ſuch a ſort as I haue ſaid before, as great a Towne and Pariſh in ſome new Plantation, as that within England, in which at this preſent, they doe dwell and abide.* A number I ſuppoſe ſufficient preſently to furniſh at large, *more then all* any one Plantation that is now in hand. Anſw. How great a number in England may be ſpared for Plantations.

Thirdly, The attempts, at the beginning ſpecially, cannot but be liable to ſome dangers of the Enemie. If then their number be but ſmall, and they goe forth, as hitherto by ſcores or hundreds, Alas, what ſtrength can they be of, either to ſubdue the Borderers, or reſiſt the Inuaders? The Aduerſarie may wait a time at his beſt leaſure, when they are growne a litle worth the rifling, *to diſplant them* of their ſeates: and as to *the French*, in *Terra Florida*, the Spaniard did, to *diſpatch them* of their liues. Whereas, if they goe out by thouſands, or ten thouſands, as all *good Plantations ſhould, and euer haue done.* Firſt, They ſhall be able to withſtand, and (if need be) to ſubdue the Naturalls adiacent: and then within a few yeeres, partly of themſelues, and partly by the aſsiſtance of their Confederates, which the ſtronger they ſee ours to be, the firmer no doubt will they be vnto them, they will by Gods bleſsing and aid, be ſo well fortified by Land, and prouided by Sea, that they ſhall as little need to feare any forraine forces there, as we, God be prayſed, doe







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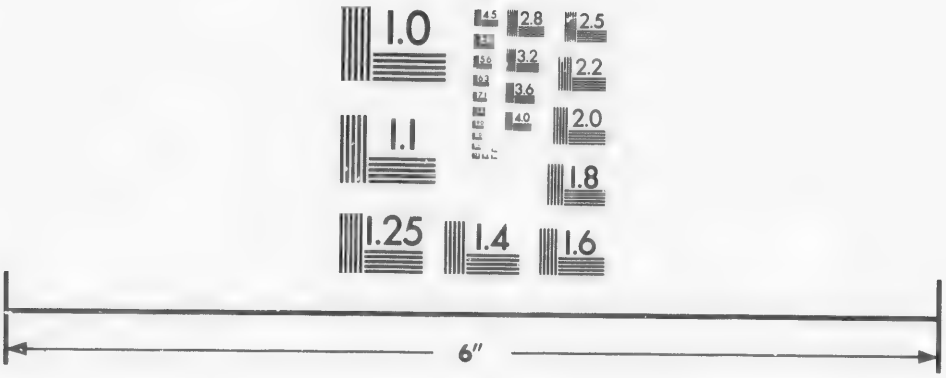

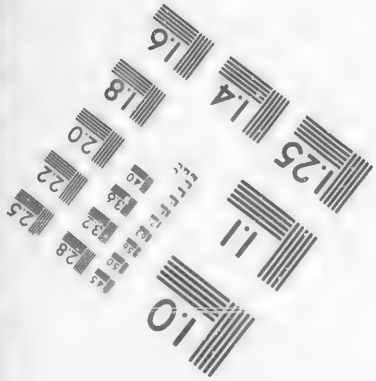

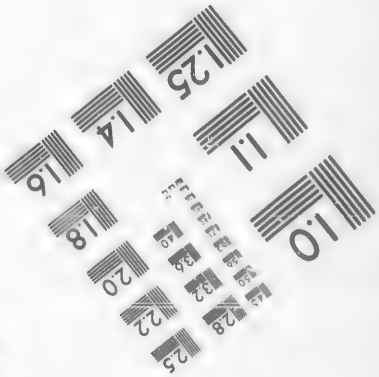

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here: and happely, grow no leſſe famous for martiall and ciuill policie both, in that *Continent*, then our Nation is in this.

Fourthly, Now it is a fit time, and we are well at leiſure for ſuch a purpoſe, to attend ſuch an employment, whereas, if any trouble, if any warres, by Sea, or by Land, ſhould ariſe vs here, (And doe we thinke, or are we ſure, *theſe Halcion dayes*, will euer hold?) we ſhould haue neither time, nor meanes to ſpare, to proſecute any ſuch buſineſſe abroad. As therefore, a man that will build a great Houſe, muſt follow it cloſely, while the Summer laſteth, and the weather is faire, leſt the Winter come on, which will both hurt and hinder his worke: ſo, it is good for vs, in this faire time of Peace, and Summer like weather of leiſure and libertie, to follow theſe buſineſſes with ſpeed, leſt in time we ſay: *Had we thought this.* We know, *Poſt eſt occaſio calua.* This is a point of that worth, and weight, that it alone, me thinkes, ſhould be enough to ſtir vp *all England*, to take heed that *ſhe doe not ſit ſtill, Iudg.* 18. 9. and let it ſlip out of her hands. For, as ſaith the Poet:

Nec quæ præterijt, curſu reuocabitur vnda:
Nec quæ præterijt, hora redire poteſt.
That is:
Nor can the tide that's eb'd and gone,
int's proper courſe reuoked be:
Nor can the time when once it's paſt,
returne againe, we plainely ſee.

Fifthly, If this worke ſhould be intercepted by any vnexpected accident, before it be brought to ſome perfection, that is: That the preſent Plantation may, if need be, for a time ſubſiſt of it ſelfe; in what a miſerie ſhould they be (poore wretches) that haue aduentured the firſt attempt? And (which God forbid) who can tell, if we dally and delay, and make not greater ſpeed thither, and thereabout, then yet we doe, whether ſome other Nation, of better ſpirit, and worthier reſolution, may not, to our great ſhame and confuſion, ſtep in before vs, and ſtop the gate againſt vs?

Sixthly,

Sixthly, Besides, the setting forth by great numbers, is no small incouragement vnto them that doe goe forth for the present, and a notable inducement to others, as vnto a hopefull businesse, to second them from time to time hereafter: whereas, on the contrarie (as experience plainely proues) this going forth by handfuls, discomforts them that be sent away, emboldens the Aduersarie, discredites the Action, and (But who can reckon vp all the euils thereof?) discourageth euerie one that heareth thereof, to aduenture either his person, or his purse in it; as doubting lest the attempt come at length, as other-like heretofore haue done, to *iust nothing*: and that they which are thither gone, are, as banished or condemned persons, *but cast away*.

These causes and reasons considered, I rest confident, that it is necessarie, there should into these Plantations be remoued, yeerely for a time, ten or twelue thousands at the least.

Whom these satisfie not, I might send to the *Bee-hiues*, where they may obserue, that *the smallest swarmes doe seldome prosper*, but *the greatest neuer lightly faile*: or to the *Locusts of the Earth*, in whom *Salomon, Prou.* 30. 37. noteth this for a point of their excellent wisdome, that *they goe forth by heapes*, or great troupes. But not resting thereon, though these naturall experiments are not to be despised, I will remit them to one of the greatest Politicians that euer was among men, I meane *Moses*, a man full of the Spirit of God, and all wisedome, who conducting the Children of *Israel* to the Landward of promise, a Land formerly inhabited, a Land alreadie builded and planted, a Land reasonably well cleared of Woods and wild-Beasts; yet tels them (whose number was not small, as this one instance may declare, *viz.* that when they came out of *Ægypt*, there were of them, men, besides Children and Strangers, *Sixe hundred thousand*, and this withall, that when they passed into the Land, fourtie yeeres after, vnder the hand of *Ioshua*, out of two Tribes and an halfe, that dwelt on this side *Iordan*, there went, fourtie thousand men of warre to assist the rest) that therefore the Lord would not destroy their Enemies all at once, but by little and little, *lest the wild-Beasts of the Field should increase vpon them, Deuter.* 7. 22. Whence

they may gather, That if so great a multitude were, in *Moses* opinion, with the least, to inhabite an emptie Land, of no greater Continent and spaciousnesse then that was, and it were but for feare of the increase of the wild-Beasts against them, and therefore vpon good pollicie, and for a time, it were better some of the men of that Land, the former Inhabitants, were suffered to remaine among them, till themselues were more increased, then may not so small a number, as we commonly send into our Plantations, suffice thereto, and that some greater number then any yet I haue limited, rather then a lesse (all things considered) were rather more requisite and necessarie.

4 Object. Resp. *This, the remoning of so great a number, will be a great weakning and impouerishing to our Land.*

Answ. *Enr.* No, none at all. For first, The strength of a Land, consisteth not so much in the number of people, as, in the aptnesse, and ablenesse of them vnto seruice. Now, whoso will not be blind, cannot but see, that this multitude, whose remouall should chiefly be intended, is neither *apt*, for want of education, being of the ruder sort; nor *able*, for want of meanes; being for the most part, of the poorer sort, to strengthen vs. There may be more doubt of them rather, lest in time of Peace they raise tumults, and fall to vproares for their bellies sake, and in time of Warre, lest they ioyne with the Enemie, and take parts against vs, for our pillage and liuings sake: then hope that in Peace, they will inrich and benefit; or in trouble, assist and strengthen our Common-wealth and Countrey.

2. If Number onely bee respected, it will no whit be empaired, but rather bettered, not diminished, but augmented; in that so great a Multitude of vs being planted otherwhere, shall become, as it were, *another England*, ready, and able vpon all occasions, to ioyne with this. Indeed, if such a number and multitude, as is needfull to be remoued, should either *die in our Land*, or be translated *out of our Land*, into some other Princes dominion, the want of them might happely be some losse and lacke vnto our Land: yet when for forty or fifty yeeres agoe it was not so ouercloied and pestered with multitude, as now it is, it was not found, God be thanked,

ked to want strength: but abiding still subiects to the same king and members of the same dominion, being made by the benefit of Plantation more auaileable to the one, and seruiceable to the other, then before, so farre is it off, that the absence and want of them shall weaken, that out of all doubt it shal notably strengthen our Land.

3. As for the impouerishing of the Land this way, there is thereof, nor probabilitie, nor possibilitie, seeing the greatest number of them, whose Transplantation is most necessary, are they that aboue all other, doe for the present, by their abiding here impouerish and begger it. For on them is bestowed yeerely, the greatest part of all that money, the summe whereof is almost inestimable, which is by Ouerseers and Churchwardens, in euery seuerall parish of the Land collected and distributed. And whereas, of this sort of people, this superfluous number, there are increased among vs, out of all doubt, here in *England* alone, within these fiftie yeeres, *not so few as an hundred thousand* (I say not persons, but) *families*, I presume, if view thereof were made, it would appeare, that *among them all, there would hardly be found one thousand of subsidie men*, as you may perceiue by the state of our owne parish and others neere-adioyning, wherein if there bee now any more subsidie men then were in the *Queenes time*, they are such onely, as are of the ancient inhabitants, and tenants, and not one, or scarce one of the late and new increase.

4. If there doe remoue hence any of the better and richer sort, that shall, and may carry some store of wealth with them, as there must, *if euer there be any good Plantation indeed any where*, yet the number of them, both will, and need be but few in respect of the rest: and whatsoeuer the Land is damnified by that they carry with them, it will soone be recompensed, partly by their absence, partly in the estates of those which shall be, by hauing their liuings and some other of their meanes inriched & bettered by their remouall, and lastly, by the commodities and benefits which from and by such cannot to this Land but redound againe out of the Plantations.

Resp. *But the reuennes of the Crowne must needs be, by this*

meanes, extremely ſpent and diminiſhed.

Enr. That the reuenues of the Crowne of *England* ſhould thereby be exhauſted or empaired, ſeemeth in mine eye ſo improbable, that altogether contrariwiſe, it ſeemeth, and muſt needs be, the readieſt way, and ſureſt courſe that can be, exceedingly to augment the ſame, both at home and abroad.

At home, in that they which remaine behind, ſhall (the Land being thus disburdened and cleared) the better reape to themſelues the benefit of the Land, and ſo grow and increaſe in wealth, that they may be inabled to pay to his Maieſtie with the more eaſe and alacritie, & in more quantities his dues, and impoſitions: whereas now, what by the great charge they be at for releeuing many of theſe, that now encomber their pariſh on the one ſide (*a charge not ſo ſmall in many pariſhes yeerely, as their part of one whole Subſidie to the king*) and what by the extreme fines and rents whereto their liuings, and the high prices whereto all things to liue by, through the exceſsiue multitude of people in our land, are rackt and raiſed on the other ſide, euen they that haue reaſonable good liuings and meanes, are ſo kept downe, and, as it were, eaten out, from time to time, that they are worſe able now, then either they, or their predeceſſors, for thirtie or fortie yeeres paſt, either to keepe houſe, or pay impoſitions and dueties required.

Abroad, while as probable it is, that by the good of Plantation, they which goe away from hence very poore, may within a little while become very rich: they that here were but needy & of meane eſtate, may here ariſe to be, as we terme men of ſubſtance and good abilitie, *Subſidie men* themſelues, and ſo yeeld profit, and pay to the Kings Coffers in ſuch ſtore and plentie, that, by Gods bleſſing attending on mens indeuours, the income thereto from ſuch onely, (that I ſpeake nothing now of what may in great probabilitie ariſe by thoſe great hopes of pearle, metall-mines, &c.) may within a little time equall, if not furmount the preſent reuenues which now all *England* yeeld, whereby, by the helpe of God; (for of the euent, if the fault be not in our ſelues, there is no doubt) his Maieſtie ſhall haue leſſe cauſe then hitherto, to be eyther chargeable

able or beholding to his subiects at home, and yet be as rich in treasure, and as well stored in money and meanes for wealth, as any Monarch in Christendome.

Resp. *I haue heard some men better learned then my selfe say, That the truth is neuer better cleared and manifested, then when by aduersaries of the truth seeking to darken it, it is oppugned & contradicted, which I see verified in our Conference. For the longer wee talke, the more I finde mine errour and ignorance; and the more I obiect against you, the better appeares the soundnesse of your opinion about the things we haue talked of.*

Enr. Whether you spake as you did, of Ignorance, or for triall, to proue what I could, or would say in these cases, it is not greatly materiall. I haue spoken nothing, I hope, but what is fit and probable in the cause, and the same in such sort, as may suffice to satisfie you, or any other that will with veritie and probabilitie be satisfied in these points; & therefore I trust, that you will take all that I haue spoken in good part, as proceeding from a minde that would willingly gratifie all, but offend none.

Resp. *You haue in truth satisfied me to the full, concerning those things of which I desired a Resolution, and did somewhat doubt with my selfe, that it was not to be had. For now I perceiue, that to make a good Plantation, store of people to inhabit, and store of Prouision to inable them to inhabite it, are necessary. I perceiue also, that our Land is able to affoord both, both People and Prouision plentifully, if good courses might be taken for procuring them. Wherefore, as I cannot but acknowledg my selfe much beholding vnto you, for that you haue brought me out of errour into the truth, as out of darkenesse into light: so I cannot but professe, that I now wish with all my heart, that I might liue to heare and know these or some of these worthy, commendable, and necessary Projects brought to some good effect, and will from henceforth bee as ready to incourage and perswade others thereunto, as I haue beene heretofore to discourage and diswade them therefrom.*

The summe of the second part.

Enr. If you be so well minded, whereof I am very glad, then you haue done contradicting, and I shall not need to bethinke my selfe of any further answers.

Resp.

Resp. *I haue done obiecting and opposing: for I perceiue, it is to no end: but if there doe come any thing into my mind concerning these proiects, wherein, I shall need some better information then I can gather to my selfe, I will make bold to come vnto you once more, but that shall be, not as an opposite and gain-saier; but as a Scholler that desireth to learne, that so I may haue mine owne mind and vnderstanding so well informed and prepared, that I may be able to confer with, and, if need be, to informe others.*

Enr. Come and welcome, whensoeuer you see it good.

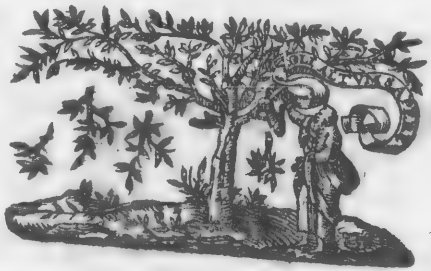
The end of the second Part.

A PLAINE PATH-WAY TO PLANTATIONS:

That is,

A Discourse in generall concerning the Plantation of our English people in other Countries.

The third Part.



LONDON,
Printed by *G. P.* for *Iohn Marriot.*

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, GEORGE, BY THE PROVIDENCE OF GOD, LORD Bishop of *Chichester*, and to the right worshipfull Lady, the Lady ANNE NEVILL his wife, *Richard Eburne* wisheth in Christ Iesus our Lord, all ioy and *felicitie of Body and Soule.*

IT is not (Right *Honourable* and *Worshipfull*) for want of Patrones to my worke, (for such I praise God I need not want, the worke it selfe wanting not fauourable Acceptation with many of no meane estate and place) that I publish vnder your Names some part thereof: but for want of better occasion and fitter Opportunitie to expresse the sincere thankefulnesse of my heart and minde vnto you both; to whom I acknowledge my selfe so farre indebted, as doth cause me often to remember, and will not suffer me to forget you in my heartiest

praiers, and the Catalogue of my *Benefactors*. To your Honour, (*right Reuerend Father in God*) for the great good I haue receiued from the fruit of your learned Labours, specially that of Tithes *De iure Diuino*, in regard whereof I doe oft acknowledge you to be my *Master* and *Teacher*, and to you both, for your speciall and manifold fauours to the fruit of my body, my eldest sonne, whom it hath pleased you both long to entertaine in your seruice, and euen in his ratheſt yeeres to vouchsafe him, and honourably to conferre vpon him, such preferments as may, by Gods blessing, be to him, as a beginning, so an Occasion of better, and put him and me in hope, that you are yet farther willing and readie, if God grant Opportunitie thereunto, to doe for him greater things. Accept therefore, I heartily and humbly beseech you both, as a token of my thankfull minde, this little parcell and participation, with others, of these my plaine and publique labours. The Argument whereof, if in particular, and directly it suit not with your Actions and Courses; yet tending, as it doth, to the generall and common good of this whole natiue Country of yours to which I know you wish all good and prosperitie, I assure my selfe it will be not distastfull, but

gra-

gratefull to your Honourable minds and affections.

This fauour, if you shall be pleased to adde vnto the former, you shall yet farther oblige me to pray to him that is Father of vs all, and from whom commeth euerie good and perfect gift, for his euerlasting fauours and manifold graces to you and yours.

THE PATH-WAY TO PLANTATIONS.

The third Part.

The Speakers be { *Respire*, a Farmer. / *Enrubie*, a Merchant.

Respire.

ONce againe M. Enrubie *I am come to trouble you a little: For by often thinking, and as it were meditating vpon these new and notable businesses of Plantation, which I hope will, and wish may take good effect, some things are come into my mind, that need a better wit and vnderstanding then mine, to open them to me. I pray you therefore a little to instruct me therein.*

Enr. With a verie good will. I will doe what I may. Aske me what you will.

Resp. *The great and goodly workes that we haue talked of, I see to be exceeding good and necessarie for our people, and meanes enough to be had, for setting them forward. What therefore may be the reason they goe on no better?*

Enr. There may diuers reasons or causes thereof be conceiued. The maine or principall whereof, in my conceit is this. There

Causes why our Plantations proceed no better.

First, want of a generall resolution.

There wanteth among vs a generall and setled resolution to proceed with them.

Resp. *What might worke such a Resolution?*

Enr. A like knowledge and perswasion of the Necessitie, Abilitie, and Opportunitie that our whole Nation hath thereunto.

Resp. *I pray you speake somewhat of each of these severally.*

Enr. I haue reasonably well done it alreadie, if you call to mind, what hath passed betweene vs in conference. For in our first dayes Labour, I shewed you manifoldly, that a Plantation is for our Land, at this present time, verie needfull. And indeed, it is so needfull and necessarie, that vnlesse God take away the present necessitie thereof by war or pestilence, or both, if it be not this way remedied, this Land cannot but shortly come, for want thereof, to verie great miserie and euill.

And at our next meeting, I shewed you, that there are both people enow, and meanes for prouision enough, to performe such a businesse, and that in a large and ample, both manner and measure, if good courses be taken for it accordingly: which can be best done by some *Act of Parliament*, if the Estates of the Land might be pleased to take this matter into their consideration, as a matter that highly and neerely concerneth the common good at this instant Matters of ten times lesse moment, are ordinarily vouchsafed the help and authoritie of that most high and honourable Court, and therefore great hope we may conceiue, that in due time, *which is euen now*, this also shall.

For opportunitie I take it, it hath passed betweene vs in our whole conference, as a matter granted, that there is opportunitie thereto offered vs abundantly, because (as it is most certainly knowne, and out of all controuersie) there are sundry Places and Countreys, where Plantations may be made, and our people may inhabite, if they will.

Resp. *What take you for a second cause?*

Secondly, The want of some good course for it.

Enr. The want of some good order and course for such a purpose, such I meane, as may be setled *generally* all the Land ouer, by *Regall* and *Legall authoritie*, and not by priuate agreements and directions only, which if I be not much deceiued, will neuer effect such a worke while the world standeth.

The

The ancient Romans well vnderſtanding this, neuer therefore attempted the plantation of any one Collony, or City alone, or of any of thoſe lands they had gotten in warre, but that firſt there was *Lex lata*, a ſpeciall Law, or publike Decree, much like an Act of Parliament with vs, made for it, the titles whereof were, *De Colonijs deducendis, De Agris diuidendis*, and other like.

Reſp. *The Kings Maieſty permitteth any that will to goe.*

Enr. 1. Firſt, that is more then we doe know, whatſoeuer folke doe ſay. 2. Experience doth ſhew, there muſt be vſed to the thorow effecting of any ſuch attempt, a *Coactiue* as well as a *Permiſſiue* power. It is not an eaſie matter, ſcarce to be hoped for in theſe daies, and in our land, to make (if need ſhould be) any great army for the field, much leſſe to get *Voluntaries* enough for a Plantation, conſidering that it is eaſier to get careleſſe young men and ſingle men to goe out of their Country vnto a warfare, then to get ſetled Houſholders, and whole Families, men, women and children, to goe into a ſtrange country to a plantation and habitation.

Reſp. *What may be a third cauſe?*

Enr. The want of induſtry and inclination to labour and take any paines, in our people: who at this preſent are ſo ouergrowne, as I may ſay, with that peſtiferous weed *Idleneſſe*, and ſo giuen to immoderate eaſe and quietneſſe, that it is not poſſible almoſt to moue them to heare of any Plantation, which they conceiue cannot be effected, as indeed it cannot, without much labour and paines taking, without induſtrious endeuours and much diligence. It is reported by Authors of good credit, of *Hannibal* that Hammer (as I may wel terme him) of the Romans, That his army and ſouldiers were more hurt and diſabled to martiall affaires by his ſuffering of them to lie and liue in *Capua*, a City of *Italy*, but one halfe yeere in idleneſſe and luxury, then the whole Hoſt of the Romans had done in ſome whole yeeres before. We muſt not greatly maruell, if our ſo long continued *reſt and peace* from warres and warlike imployments, our vnſpeakable idleneſſe and diſſolute life, haue ſo corrupted and in manner effeminated our people generally and for the moſt part, that they cannot endure the hearing, much leſſe the doing of any

3. Want of induſtry in our people.

Plutarc. in *Anibal.*

laborious attempts, of any thing that shall be troublous or any whit dangerous vnto them.

Resp. *What remedy may there be for this perillous disease?*

Enr. None, or at least none better I thinke, then a Plantation, as I shewed you the first day at large.

Resp. *Haue you any other cause to alleage for our backwardnesse this way?*

4. The immoderate loue of their owne Country.

Enr. Yes. The *immoderate loue of our owne Country.* Euery man almost is so, as I may say, *bestotted* therewith, that it is almost impossible vpon any aduantage to get them out of it.

Resp. *And blame them not. You know* (I am sure) *the old* saying, *Fumus patriæ igne alieno luculentior:* The smoake of a mans owne Country is cleerer in his eies, then the fire of another. *And you haue read how the children of Israel hauing dwelt in the land of Ægypt, some two or three hundred yeeres, whereby it was to them their native Country, that albeit they were therein most cruelly oppressed by the Ægyptians, yet when* Moses *came to deliuer them, they were not easily drawne to goe out of it, and that to a good Land, a Land that flowed with milke and hony: and how once or twice, being well on the way, they were ready to make head to haue returned. And therefore no great maruell if our English people bee so loth to goe out of a good land, so good a land as England is, a land to which scarce any in Christendome is comparable, and to goe into they know not what wilde and desolate Countries.*

Enr. That you say were somewhat to the purpose, if it were purposed that they should remoue which doe enioy and eat the good and fat of the land. But seeing they are either chiefly or onely intended to be remoued hence, that haue nothing here but need and misery: they that haue not a foot of ground to rest vpon, nor a house to put their head in: they which by the extreme dearth and want of necessaries for mans life are ready to pine and perish; they haue little reason to be so in loue with that Country, that is so much out of loue with them, that shee seemes rather a stepdame then a mother vnto them, and to refuse and forsake that Country which will bee to them a kinde and louing Mother indeed: that Country that is ready to receiue them with both her armes: that Country where they may (if they will) haue abundance of that which here they want, that Coun-

Country which will vouchsafe them such liuings and meanes to liue by, as they are sure in *England* they shall neuer attaine vnto: as if they had neuer heard, that *vbicunque benè, ibi patria*: whersoeuer a man is or may be best at ease, it is best to account that for his Country: and that it is but meere vanity for men to preferre the soile of any Region before themselues.

In a word, all that you say or can say for this point, is as farre out of the way, as if you would say, because children haue beene borne and bred vp in their fathers house, therefore what need soeuer they haue, and how bad maintenance and keeping soeuer they haue there, yet they ought not, nor haue they any reason to goe out of that their fathers house, and to passe into other elsewhere, *tanquam in Colonias*, as into new Colonies or Habitations, there to be prouided for and to liue in farre better sort.

Resp. *I see mine ouersight, and that all this hath formerly beene touched, but that either ignorant corruption or partiall affection so blinded and ouer-ruled me, that I could not so well perceiue it as now by this your Repetition and Recollection thereof I doe.*

Enr. Of this matter then let this suffice. And if you haue any thing else to enquire of, proceed vnto it if you please.

How many Plantations now in hand.

Resp. *I haue heard both you and others say, there be diuers Plantations now either already in hand, or to be taken in hand, if we will: and I pray you tell me by Name, what, and how many they be?*

Enr. They are these, as neere as I can remember, *New-found land, Summer Ilands, Virginia, Guiana, New England*, and as I heare of late, *New Scotland* too.

Resp. *What so many? Then there cannot want opportunity of plantation for our people, if we be not wanting to it. And God forbid that so great an opportunity, or rather so many, and all so faire opportunities* (for that also you haue already shewed) *should bee ouerslipt and neglected. It may bee feared if they should, God would not be pleased therewith. For what can he doe more for vs, then to make vs so many and so faire offers for our good from time to time, as one that loueth our Nation, if we will see it, and is willing, by spreading of it into sundry parts of the world, to make it famous and great vpon earth?*

Enr. You say very well. Happy therefore shall we be, if wee make vse of it.

Resp. *But now I pray you tell me, what manner of countries those are?*

Enr. I haue already done that also, if you remember well our first daies labour, by shewing what good is in them to be had; and by answering your Obiections pretended against them, as if they were not worth the accepting.

Resp. *I remember that well. But my desire is, that you would relate vnto me the state of those Countries particularly one by one.*

Enr. That were an endlesse and a needlesse labour. Endlesse, for that it would require more then one or two daies time thereto: and *needlesse*, for that it is already done, better then I can doe it againe, in seuerall bookes or descriptions of those Countries set forth by other men, such as haue either found out the Countries themselues, or desire to farther our Plantations therein: vnto the which let it suffice that I remit you, as by which you may be satisfied for this point at full, and that at your best leisure.

Resp. *That is a matter of cost to buy such bookes.*

Enr. A little mony will doe it. I doe not thinke but that you spend more a great deale in any one yeere in idle and vnnecessary expences: which you may spare to lay out on these good vses. The Bookes are delightfull of themselues, as all historicall treatises commonly are, and so will be a good recreation when you haue beene wearied other waies. Also they will often put you in minde of these things, whereas my relation will be but once: and when you haue read them ouer and ouer, they will serue for your children and others, to exercise them to the reading of English as well as any other bookes; the sacred Histories and bookes diuine, that season the soule as well as the vnderstanding with piety and godlinesse, alwaies and only excepted.

Resp. *The Countries being so many, is it intended that there shall be Plantations in them all by the English?*

Enr. What is intended I cannot tell. But this I can tell, somewhat to that purpose is or hath beene attempted in them all.

Resp. *But it is not possible, they should all be finished, is it?*

Enr. Whether it be possible, God knowes, but surely in mine opinion, it is somewhat vnlikely. It is not good to haue many works, great workes in hand at once. It were better haply, that some

some of them were quite giuen ouer, or at least deferred till some were either finished or brought to some perfection. *Vis vnita*, the old saying is, *fortior*. Forces vnited must needs bee the stronger, and dispersed the weaker.

A time may come for the filling vp, and full storing of them all. For if God vouchsafe to continue our health and peace in this land, as now of long time he hath done, there is no question to be made of it, but that were all presently removed, that our Land is able to spare, which doubtlesse *are many score thousands*, yet within few yeeres, it will looke againe for a new remouing place for those which out of its yeerely increase will be sprung vp. And therefore it were not amisse, but a thing to be wished and endeuoured, that though the full finishing of some one or two Plantations be chiefly for the present followed and intended, yet vpon a prouident, or (if I may so speake) *a preuident* consideration of our occasions and wants for time to come, some both Possession and Plantation might be continued in all those Countries, which by Gods speciall fauour to vs ward, doe at this present rest, and remaine as it were offered to and into our hands.

Resp. *And which of all these seemeth to be most likely to be the best, to be set forward before the rest?*

Enr. Diuers men no doubt will thinke diuersly, as either their affection carries, or their reason perswades them. Disliking therefore of and detracting from no mans, but leauing euery man to his owne, as I desire they will me to mine, this is mine opinion, that if the Plantation proceed by hundreds, *Guiana* is the best; if by thousands, *Newfoundland* is best. Which of them seemeth best to be set forward.

Resp. *I conceiue not the reason of this difference, which yet I perswade my selfe, you doe make vpon good reason.*

Enr. Any that vnderstands either the state of those Countries, or the true nature of a Plantation, would easily vnderstand me.

Resp. *Helpe me to vnderstand it also.*

Enr. It is this. If we seeke for riches, for good Merchandizes, and goodly Commodities to be brought hither, the richest Country, and the wealthiest for the present, that also whence with fewest hands it may be returned, is the best: Such is *Guiana*.

ana. If we seeke for roome for our ouerſwarming multitudes of people of many ſorts to be placed in, the moſt deſolate and emptieſt Country, voideſt of inhabitants, and neereſt and eaſieſt for tranſportation, is the beſt: Such is *New-found land.* And againe, if we plant by *Compoſition, Guiana* is fitteſt: if by *Preoccupation,* (for a fitter Engliſh word on the ſudden I finde not) *New-found land* is beſt.

How many waies there be to make Plantations.

Reſp. *I pray you explaine your ſelfe againe a little better, for what you meane by planting by* Compoſition *and* Preoccupation *I vnderſtand not.*

Enr. Then are you little acquainted with theſe courſes. The meaning is this; We plant by *Compoſition,* when ſeeking to gaine a Country already ſomewhat peopled and reaſonably inhabited, as is *Guiana,* we doe vpon faire conditions, as by profering them defence againſt their enemies, ſupply of their wants, namely Apparell, Armour, Edge-tooles, and the like, allure and winne them to enter league with vs, to agree that we ſhall dwell among them, and haue Lands and other Commodities of them to our content. We plant by *Preoccupation,* when finding a Country quite void of people, as no doubt in *America* yet there are many, as was the *Barmudas,* now called *Summer Ilands,* for few yeeres paſt, and as is at this preſent, for the moſt part, *New-found land,* we ſeize vpon it, take it, poſſeſſe it, and as by the Lawes of God and Nations, lawfully we may hold it as our owne, and ſo fill and repleniſh it with our people. In the firſt manner a few people may ſuffice, but to the latter, many, very many are neceſſary.

Reſp. *This is very plaine. But why ſpeake you nothing of planting by* Inuaſion, *which ſome men thinke to be as it hath proued to them that haue vſed it, the richeſt, the readieſt and the ſpeedieſt courſe of the three?*

Plantation by Inuaſion diſliked.

Enr. Firſt, becauſe wee need it not. There are Countries enow beſides (and ſuch are all thoſe now in hand) in which we may ſafely plant, either by our ſelues, or with others, without any Inuaſion or warre at all.

Secondly, if we needed it, or any would goe that way to worke, yet our people generally will not endure it. Wee ſee they can hardly, nay, they cannot be gotten to goe and plant themſelues where

where they may doe it with all ease and freedome that can be, and therefore there is no probability, they will once moue a foot, to goe and seeke out a Country by the sword.

We reade, *Ex.* 13. 17. that God, when he brought the children of *Israel* out of *Ægypt*, would not carry them into the land of *Canaan* by the way of the Philistines Countries, though it were the neerer way a great deale, *lest the people should repent them when they see warre, and turne backe into Ægypt*: but God made the people to goe about by the way of the Wildernesse of the red Sea. Teaching vs therein, how fearefull people naturally are of warre, as willing rather to forgoe euen an exceeding good Land, as *Canaan* was, rather then to goe into it by the sword: and that God himselfe dislikes not such a feare. Exod. 13. 17.

Thirdly, that were a double charge. For so our people must goe first, they that are men onely, as an Army of Souldiers to subdue the Inhabitants and take the Country, and then after to goe, men, women and children, to inhabit, and keepe it, if they can. For many times in such cases, the euent of warre proues vncertaine, whereas going where needs no *Inuasion*, they may make their full remoue, young and old at first, and rest secure of setling there.

Fourthly, and for mine owne part, I doe not like it. I nor am, nor can be perswaded, that it may be lawfull for one Nation to fight against and destroy another in that sort, and vpon no better title then the desire of their lands and goods, to bereaue each other of their rights and liues.

Resp. *Indeed the Scripture saith, all the whole Heauens are the Lords, the earth hath he giuen to the children of men*, Psal. 115. 16. *By which words I gather that whatsoeuer Country any people doe possesse and inhabit, it is Gods gift vnto them. God hath allotted and bestowed that on them for their portion. Which being so, it seemes to me to stand with reason and Religion both, that euery people whatsoeuer they be, should be permitted quietly and peaceably to hold and enioy their owne Country, and that it ought not of any, by violence to be taken from them: we must doe to all men, Iew or Gentile, faithfull or vnfaithfull, as we would be done vnto: and therefore I cannot but like well of your opinion in that point.* Psal 115. 16. Mat. 7. 12.

Eur. Examples there are I grant many in sundry Histories to the

the contrary, but you know the old rule, *Viuitur legibus, non exemplis*: We must liue by lawes, and not by examples. And therefore till we finde better proofe then practiſe, and further warrant then, Thus and thus others haue done before vs, I hold it not ſafe to doe the like.

Reſp. *I ſee that Innaſion is neither the beſt, nor ſo much as a good courſe for Plantation. And therefore I maruell how they either are deceiued, or doe vnderſtand themſelues, that ſay, as I haue heard ſome, that ſeeme to be of good vnderſtanding this way, Innaſion and Plantation are couſen germans, and ſo like one the other, that a man may take a patterne for the one from the other.*

Enr. They that ſo ſay, and I am one of them, haue very faire probability of that they ſay, as I ſuppoſe.

Reſp. *I am glad then, that I made mention thereof, ſince you are of that minde alſo: for now I hope I ſhall be made to conceiue how that may be. I pray you therefore declare it vnto me.*

Wherein Innaſion and Plantation are ſomewhat like.

Enr. I will, but briefly, leſt I make you as weary to heare, as you ſeeme willing to learne. Thus it is.

There be fiue things wherein theſe two actions doe very much accord, and which the one muſt vſe as well as the other, or elſe they cannot proſper. The firſt of them is *Diſcouery*. The party inuading, or they that will inuade another Nation or Country, muſt firſt of all make a perfect *Diſcouery thereof*, that knowing the ſituation of the place, the largeneſſe or quantity, the ſtate and quality thereof, the alliance it hath with other people, neere or farre off, weake or ſtrong, and other like, accordingly they may prepare for the attempt. The ſame muſt they doe, that will plant in another Country. They muſt know certainly the ſituation of it, the largeneſſe and quantity thereof, the nature and quality of the Soile, the ſtate of the Climate, the temperature of the Aire, the eaſineſſe or difficulty of acceſſe and entrance vnto it, the moſt conuenient places for erecting Cities, Townes, and Fortifications there. Alſo whether it be inhabited already or not, and how much, and in what ſort. What kinde of people they be, likewiſe what Borderers and Allies vnto it, what fruits and commodities there, or likely there to bee had, what dangers or inconueniences there to be feared, with other like. For according as they haue notice of theſe particulars, they may and muſt proceed.

3. Diſcouery.

The

The second is, people to make the attempt withall. They that will inuade others, must be sure to raise an Army so great and good, as in all probabilitie may bee able either for number or valour, or both, to match and ouer-match the partie inuaded. And they that will plant other-where, must raise such a multitude, as in all probabilitie may be able for number and industry, in some measure to take vp and inhabit the Countrey they goe to. To goe downe as *Iacob* did into Egypt with seuentie soules, and within a few scores of yeares, to multiply and increase vnto six or seuen hundred thousands and aboue: and to giue an onset and preuaile, as *Gedeon* did, with three hundred halfe armed men, vpon two or three hundred thousands of well appointed Souldiers, is a matter of *Admiration*, shewing vs what God can doe, not of *Imitation*, what we may or must doe.

a. Number of people.

Resp. *What number of people, or how many thousands may there suffice, or be necessary for vs to begin a Plantation withall?*

What number of people may suffice to begin a Plantation withall.

Ent. That cannot regularly and certainly be determined. For as to inuade a Countrey withall, the Army must be more or lesse, according to the state and strength of the Countrey or partie inuaded: so to plant a Countrey withall, the multitude remouing must be great or small, according to the greatnesse or smalnesse of the Plantation, and the facilitie or difficultie of planting, by reason of either open enemies, or suspected friends, with other like circumstances and occurrents. This is as much as can be said: *That without a number somewhat great, no good Plantation can be made at all.* And though for mine owne part, I will speake of no certaine number, yet this much I will tell you, That I finde that the ancient *Romanes*, who were a people of great policy, and planted many Colonies, when they sent forth any number of people, and it were but for one Colony (that is, but one Citie) alone, did neuer send forth a lesse number then *three thousand*, more oftentimes. And they were so precise vpon the point (as they th[illegible] knew well, without a number somewhat great, their Colonies could not possibly stand and prosper) that though they planted diuers Colonies in one yeare, as sometimes they did, yet they failed not of that number, that is, to send forth to euery seuerall place *three thousand* a peece at the least. By which practise of theirs, I leaue it to you and others to judge,

Romane Colonies.

" what it is likely they in their policy could haue thought to haue
" beene a ſufficient number, to ſend forth to plant a whole Coun-
" trey withall, wherein they were to ſettle and imploy diuers Ci-
" ties, Townes and Villages at once: and doe reſt the more confir-
" med, That I am not in an error when I doe intimate or moue
" that into our Plantations, being ſo ſpacious and ample as they
" are, our people ſhould goe forth by thouſands, and not by
" hundreds.

Reſp. *What is the third thing wherein theſe Actions be ſomewhat like?*

3. Prouiſion. *Enr.* The third Reſemblance is *Prouiſion* for the people: They that will inuade others, muſt prouide and take ſuch order for Prouiſion for their owne ſide, that they want not neceſſaries for victuals, for Armour, and other like, which in all mens opinion, are the ſtrength and ſinewes of warre, leſt they be inforced to giue ouer the Attempt with loſſe and infamie, or be preſſed with famine, and endangered with ſickneſſe and mutinies, which commonly attend the ſame. And they that will plant other-where, muſt be ſure of Prouiſion, both of victuals for themſelues, and neceſſaries for building and other vſes, till they be ſetled and haue of their owne there.

Reſp. *This is it, as ſome thinke, that marres all. For as it is thought, there is no poſſibilitie to haue Prouiſion for ſuch a multitude or great number of people, as muſt or need to be remoued. And indeed how can it be poſſible, that ten or twenty thouſand remouing in one yeare, they can haue along with them a yeares, or* (which is the leaſt that may be) *but halfe a yeares prouiſion, which may ſuſtaine them till the Countrey it ſelfe can ſuccour them?*

Enr. You and they too are very much miſtaken. For as to an Armie of thirtie or fortie thouſand ſouldiers, Prouiſion muſt be had for them al the time they are abroad, but it is not of neceſſity, that they muſt carie it all with them at the firſt ſetting forth: it is ſufficient, if order be taken how it may bee brought vnto them by Sea or by Land, from time to time, weekly or monethly, as ſhall be fit, and can beſt be performed: And euen ſo it is for a multitude removing into a Plantation. And this I hope you vnderſtand is poſſible enough to be obtained and done: and this the ſooner, if you vnderſtand withall, that into any of the

Countries

Countries to be planted, our ships may easily make two, three, or foure voyages in a yeare.

Resp. *I see that as the Prouerbe saith, There be more waies to the wood then one. Proceed I pray you to your fourth Affinitie.*

Eng. That is *Celeritie.* In making an *Inuasion*, there is nothing more requisite for many causes, then that it be done, when it is once intended it shall be done, with all speedinesse and celeritie: A point wherein the ancient *Romane* Captaines commonly excelled and ouer-reached all other, and their *Iul. Cæsar* them all: and a thing which oftentimes stood them more in stead then any other proiect or course they could deuise. And surely in making of a Plantation, I thinke it to be none of the least points to be obserued, for many questionlesse, are the commodities thereof. Nothing is more dangerous then a lingring warre: and nothing more discommodious then a slow Plantation. 4. Celeritie.

Resp. *What Celeritie thinke you needfull to be vsed in that case?* What celerity needfull in a Plantation.

Eng. Such, that the whole Plantation might in some reasonable measure be finished in two, three, or foure yeares at the most.

Resp. *That seemes a thing altogether impossible.*

Eng. Why so? Is it not possible (for examples sake) thinke you) that if wee should make a Plantation in *New-found land*, there might be sent thither the first yeare so many as might inhabit it all along on one side thereof, and ten or twelue miles into the Land: the like on the other side the second yeare; and the third yeare ten or twelue miles farther on both sides; the rest remaining void, in the middest, may either be filled vp in the fourth yeare, or (if it be not much, and who hath yet related the breadth of that Country from Sea to Sea?) remaine for the spreading of the first number as they doe propagate and increase. All which to doe, will not require so great store of people as some happily may imagine, considering that the Parishes there cannot at first be halfe so thicke, and need not be one quarter so full, as they be here.

Resp. *I dee not see but that it is possible enough such a thing might be. For we haue both people enow and meanes enough to set them forth withall, for such a speedy Plantation.*

Eng. Such celeritie vsed, would make a better Plantation "

" any where in three or foure yeares, then is likely to be made by " any course that I can heare of yet vsed in three or fourescore " yeares. 2. It would be maruelious comfortable and profitable to " the people remoued. 3. It would secure the Plantation from all " enemies that shall either enuy it, or endanger it. 4. And it would set vs at libertie for another Plantation other-where: which so well and roundly finished in one place, would be a notable patterne and incouragement to any to participate in some other.

Resp. *Now proceed, if it please you, to your last Resemblance.*

5. Policie. *Enr.* The fift is *Policie*: which in both these Cases must much be vsed. There must be policie for the getting, and policie for the keeping of that which is gotten. For getting victory against those they did inuade, good Martiall Commanders, whose desire and indeuour hath euer beene to performe more *Concilio quam vi*, by policy and good aduice, then by power and force, haue vsed in former times a three-fold policie, *Honour, Preferment*, and *Reward*. 1. *Honour*, He that first climbed the walls had his Crowne. 2. *Preferment*, He that shewed most valour, was euer aduanced to higher place and office in the Campe and Armie, and sometimes to incourage them all. 3. For their *Reward*, they gaue them the spoile of the enemy. The whole bootie was theirs if they could win the Towne. The like must be vsed in a Plantation. That the better sort, men of dexteritie, industry, and vnderstanding, be preferred to places of Preheminence and Authoritie: and that all that will aduenture to inhabit the Plantation, be vouchsafed by a liberall distribution of the Lands and Commodities of the Countrey planted vnto them, riches and meanes for them and theirs abundantly and " gallantly to liue vpon. Such liberalitie and aduancement will " incourage men to goe, and will quickly make a good Plantati- " on, which Couetousnesse and neglect of persons will neuer doe.

2. For keeping of that they haue gotten, Martiall men doe vse a two-fold policie, *viz.* to strengthen themselues, and to weaken the enemy. 1. They strengthen themselues by making fortifications and setling garisons, if need be, to keepe the Citie or Countrey gotten. 2. They weaken the enemy, by taking from them their Armour, that they shall not be able to resist, though they would, and by taking of them their children and others

for

for Hoſtages, that they may not dare to reſiſt though they could. And they that will make a good Plantation muſt (as occaſion ſhall require) vſe the very like.

And whereas the people of thoſe parts are all, or for the moſt part deſtitute of Armour, and vnskilfull in feates of armes, by all meanes it is expedient ſo to keepe and continue them. For ſeeing they doe, for the moſt part, in number of perſons, and ſtrength of body already exceed vs, if we ſuffer them to haue armour, and inure them to vſe it, probable it is that within a little time, they will in valour too excell vs, and ſo beat vs with our owne weapons. Theſe be the things wherein betwixt Inuaſion and Plantation, there is ſo much affinity. To which I might adde two more, *Equity* and *Authority*, without the former whereof, an *Inuaſion* is not *bellum*, but *Latrocinium*, not a warfare but a robbery, and Plantation, not a lawfull Poſſeſſion, but a cruell Oppreſſion: and without the latter whereof, neither can an Army be leuied for Inuaſion, nor will a multitude of people be gotten to ſet forth for a Plantation. But I paſſe by theſe, both becauſe of the one I ſpake but little before vpon another occaſion, and of the other, needs no queſtion, ſeeing it is out of queſtion, that all the places and Countries intended for Plantations by vs, are ſuch as in all equity we may, by the Law of God and Nations enter vpon.

Reſp. *Your ſpeech hath ſatisfied me very well: but if you would be pleaſed for your later point of* Policie, *to adde ſome particulars how it might well be practiſed, you ſhould giue me much more content. For it is a thing that I deſire much to heare.*

Enr. That would I doe alſo, were it not that I doubt leſt howſoeuer you may accept it, yet ſome other (hearing hereof) would ſay vnto me, as *Apelles* to the Shoomaker, *Ne Sutor vltra Crepidam:* No man ſhould intermeddle but with that which belongs to his owne profeſſion: or which is worſe, That I haue cut large thongs out of other folkes leather. Wherefore for that point, let me deſire you rather to hearken as I doe, to heare the words or voice of him or them that ſhall ſay, *This* and *thus it ſhall be. This and that they ſhall haue that will aduenture*, and hauing ſaid it, haue power what they haue ſpoken in words to performe and make good in deeds, then to preſſe me to ſay what

may or *might be done*, that am not able to say or assure any man, that euer any such thing *shall be* done. Farther, this would require a more large Discourse by farre, then the breuity which I promised and intended will admit.

Whether is better to plant in an Iland or in a Continent.

Resp. *Let that matter goe then: and now tell me I pray you, whether it were better that a Plantation be made in an Iland, or in a Country at large, that is no Iland?*

Enr. That I cannot certainly tell you. For in seuerall respects, either of them may be better one then the other. As in respect of certainty, celerity, facility, and security, it is better to plant in an Iland, so it be somewhat large, then in a large Continent. But in other respects, as for Opportunity to enlarge the bounds of the Plantation, for variety of Commodities, which a large Continent may rather yeeld then a lesser Iland, for vicinity vnto other Countries, and for league and amity with neighbour Nations, and other like, it may be better (*Cæteris paribus*) other things being sutable, to plant in a spacious Continent, then in an Iland.

Resp. *You said but now, of such Countries as are deuoid of Inhabitants, you thought New found land the best for a present Plantation, what moues you to be of that minde? for I heare that some doe dislike it very much.*

Moaues for a present Plantation in New found land.

Enr. I can giue you no reason for it out of my own experience, for, as you know, I was neuer there. For that point therefore, I had rather referre you to Captaine *Ric. Whitbourne*, I meane to his booke of the *Discouery* of that Country, which he hath lately set forth whereby you may for that matter be satisfied at large.

Resp. *But in the meane time, till I can get that Booke, and be at leisure to perus'e it, you shall doe me a pleasure, if you will in briefe relate vnto me, what you haue obserued out of it to that purpose.*

Enr. That I will doe willingly. The summe is this. First, it is the neerest place that now is to be planted, not aboue 14. or 15. daies saile with a good wind: whereas *Virginia*, and some of the rest, are twise as far at the least, and more dangerous for passage.

Secondly, it is the safest place for Plantation, as which is out of the Road, as I may say, both of the Spaniard to his Countries and Plantations, and also of Pirats at Sea, who are most for the Straights. And, if need should be, whither soonest, [*viz.* within

in a few daies warning, they there may haue succour from *England*, and *England* againe from it.

Thirdly, It is the cheapest and readiest for passage and transportation, both of men and meanes of all sorts to plant with, both because our ships doe yeerely and vsually, two or three hundred saile of them goe thither on fishing voyages, and that most of them but halfe loaden, and some with no lading at all: and by Plantation no doubt more may and will.

Fourthly, it may soonest be finished, and so we freed againe for some other Plantation, because it is but an *Iland* of no great content; not so big as *England*, but neere about the greatnesse of *Ireland*.

Fifthly, the Country it selfe is healthy and temperate, very agreeable to the Constitution of our *English bodies*, as which is very neere in the same temperature for heat and cold, that *England* is, rather warmer then colder, as which lieth aboue foure degrees neerer the South then *England*: and is incumbred with no noisome beasts or vermine whatsoeuer.

Sixthly, the soile of the Country is very fat, rich, and good: fit for pasture and tillage, equall to most of our grounds in *England*.

Seuenthly, the whole Country is rich, *viz.* the Sea coast with fish beyond measure, as where our Nation and some others haue fished these fourescore yeeres, and where there is neuer like to be an end or want of that Commodity. The Land stored with beasts, birds of the field, fish of the riuers, water-fowle, wood, grasse and fruits of the earth, &c.

Eighthly, the Country, for the most part, is vtterly void of all Inhabitants, *Salvages* or other, so that there is no feare of *Enemies* in it, nor of *Corruption of Language or Blood* from it. Little Armour will suffice there for offence or defence.

Ninthly, It lieth very neere vnto some parts of *America*, as neere as doth *England* to *France*, and therefore may be a good meanes for our possessing of some other and neerer parts thereof, then any we doe yet, and for conuersion of the people thereof to the *Christian faith* hereafter, and for our present and continuall hauing of such Commodities, as those parts may, and doe afford.

Tenthly,

Tenthly, it is not farre also, *viz.* not a daies saile from an Iland called the *Banke*, an excellent place for fishing all the yeere: and not aboue foure or fiue daies saile from the Ilands of *Flowers* and *Azores*, which are very rich and well stored with Wheat, Beeues, Sheepe, Goats, Hogs, Hens, and many other good commodities for a Plantation, which from those parts may be had, easier, sooner and cheaper then from *England*.

11. It is a Country very strong by Nature, as which is stored with many goodly Harbours so well made and fenced by Gods handy-worke, with Rocks and Cliffes, that a little Fortification will make the whole, being but an Iland, and that not great, *inuincible by Sea*.

12. It may be a meanes to increase the shipping of our Land, which is as it were, the wall thereof, wonderfully, and withall our Seamen and Souldiers, for seruices by Sea, and so to gaine vs in time the freedome, soueraignty and safety of the Seas beyond all other nations whatsoeuer.

13. It is likely to yeeld vs many rich and necessary Commodities for our Land, which now our Merchants doe fetch as farre or farther off, at a dearer rate, or with more danger a great deale, then there or thence they shall.

14. Beeing first and forthwith planted by vs, it may bee a meanes of the furtherance of the rest of our Plantations intended, which from thence may haue many supplies: and which may serue for a resting place for the refreshing of those that goe to or from them: this being as it were, in the mid-way and high way to them all.

15. It is very necessary for our Land, because if it should (through our negligence and backwardnesse) bee intercepted by any other Nation, it would bee as ill a Neighbour to *England*, as being accepted by vs it may be a good. And namely, it would hazard the destruction and ouerthrow of all the rest of our Plantations, which can hardly stand without this, and the losse for euer of our fishing voyages there, which these fourescore yeeres we haue frequented and enioy which losse alone, would be euen the vndoing of many of our Sea-coast Townes in *England*, that doe now liue much by them.

16. Last of all, diuers honourable and worshipfull persons haue

haue already begun ſeuerall Plantations in that Country, and ſo laid the foundation of ſo famous and notable an attempt, as all after ages ſhall haue cauſe, I doubt it not, to commend their valour, and honour their memory. With whom, if others, or, which were much to be wiſhed, if *our whole Land* would ioine, the [illegible]ke could not, by the bleſſing of God, vpon ſo bleſſed an act[illegible]ut luckily and ſpeedily proſper.

Reſp. *Who, I pray you, are thoſe worthy perſons that haue made the firſt aduenture of planting there?*

Enr. They are theſe. Firſt, the right Honourable, *Henry* Lord *Cary*, Viſcount *Falkland*, and now Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, hath begunne a great and faire Plantation there ſome few yeeres ſince: and is well pleaſed to entertaine any ſuch as will aduenture with him, either in purſe or in perſon, vpon very fit and reaſonable conditions. The names of ſuch as al ready haue begun a Pl tation in New-fou Land.

Secondly, the right Honourable, Sir *George Caluert*, Knight, and principall Secretary to the Kings moſt excellent Maieſty, hath alſo a very large and goodly Plantation there, which though it be as yet but in the Infancy, *viz.* of not aboue 5. or 6. yeeres vndertaking, yet doth it already well flouriſh in a place well fortified and ſecured: wherein are ſome hundred people or thereabout inhabiting and emploied in building of houſes, ridding or clearing of grounds for paſture, arable and other like vſes: and in making of ſalt for the preſeruing of fiſh and diuers other ſeruices. And his Honour is likewiſe well pleaſed to entertaine any that will either aduenture with him, or ſerue vnder him vpon very fit and faire conditions.

Thirdly, Maſter *Iohn Slany* of London, Merchant, and ſome others with him, haue maintained a Colony of his Maieſties ſubiects there for diuers yeeres paſt.

Fourthly, diuers worſhipfull Citizens of the City of *Briſtoll*, haue vndertaken to plant a large Circuit of that Country, and haue had people there inhabiting theſe 5. or 6. yeeres with good and hopefull ſucceſſe.

Fifthly, Maſter *William Vaughan* of *Tarraced* in the Countie of *Carmarthen*, Doctor of the Ciuill Law, hath alſo done the like: and hath within theſe two or three yeeres laſt ſent thither di-

uers men and women that doe inhabite there, and prosper well.

Sixtly, some other worthy persons there are that be aduenturers in the said Plantation, whose names yet I know not.

By all which you may vnderstand that there is already a faire beginning of this worthy worke: and that they which henceforth shall goe thither, shall not be the first that shall aduenture to dwell there. Which considered, may bee a good Motiue to others to follow them and to ioyne themselues vnto them, assured by the manifold experiments of those many and worthy persons, as haue already aduentured their fortunes and meanes there, and that in seuerall and farre distant parts of that Land, that the Country is very habitable and good for a present and speedy Plantation.

Resp. *These be good Motiues indeed, for the aduancement and hasting of this Plantation. And I like them so well that if I were but twenty yeeres younger then I am, I thinke I should be like enough to see it my selfe: and that now I cannot, yet I shall be willing,* if I once see the same well set forward, *what I may to animate and perswade others, my Children, Kinsfolke, Friends, Allies and Neighbours thereunto, as vnto a place and action that is likely to proue greatly to the* good of all them and theirs for euer, *that will ingage themselues therein.*

Enr. So doing, *and but so doing,* you shall doe well. For assure your selfe, you shall thereby much further the honour and glory of God, benefit your natiue Country and people, doe good seruice to our renowned King and Soueraigne, and highly gratifie all those that haue vndertaken so honourable and excellent, so necessary and difficult an enterprise. But now answer mee one question, as I haue done many to you.

Resp. *I will if I can: what is it?*

Excuses and delaies for not going into a Plantation answered.

Enr. What lets you, notwithstanding your age, but that you may goe also your selfe and see it, and inhabit it too, if you please, as well as if you were 20. yeeres younger then you are?

Resp. *Being so farre stricken in yeeres as I am, I am not very willing to trauell into other Countries; but am content and desirous too, to end my life at home, and let them that be young, strong and lusty goe: for they are fit for it.*

Enr.

Enr. You are not ſo old and broken with age, that you may ſay as father *Barzillai* did to *Dauid*, 2. *Sam.* 19. 35. when he offered him more then an ordinary fauour: *I am* (ſaid he) *this day. fourſcore yeere old. I cannot diſcerne betweene good and euill: nor hath thy ſeruant any taſte in that he doth eat and drinke. I cannot heare any more the voice of ſinging men and women: and I ſhall bee but a burthen to him that would pleaſure me.* If you bee come to this ſtate, you ſhall by my conſent haue *A placard of eaſe* to abide at home, or *Bill of Dotage*, to trouble you no farther. 1. Agedneſſe.

Reſp. *Truly I cannot ſo ſay: I am reaſonable ſtrong and healthy yet: I could rather ſay almoſt as old* Caleb *did to Captaine* Ioſhua, Ioſh. 14. 6. *As ſtrong as I was for 20. yeeres agoe, ſo ſtrong well neere am I yet*, I thanke God, *and am as apt and able for trauell and employment. My ſenſes are good, and my eie ſight ſerues me almoſt as well as euer it did.*

Enr. Then are you as fit to goe in ſuch a buſineſſe as euer you were, and fitter too in ſome reſpect by your age. Your age hath taught you experience and diſcretion how to behaue your ſelfe, and helpe to manage ſuch a worke better then younger men, that haue had no time to gather obſeruation in the world. Your age will cauſe, that for your gray haires and grauity you ſhall bee reſpected, reuerenced and obeied farre more then young men, who being for the moſt part vnskilfull, will get contempt. And laſtly, your perſonall example will fiue times more preuaile to perſwade others to goe, then any verball Arguments that you can make. But ſay once you will goe your ſelfe, and which of your children will not bee ready to runne with you? but as long as you abide behinde, you ſhall not eaſily get any one of them to goe by himſelfe. The like ſhall you finde in other your kindred and acquaintance.

Reſp. *But it is not an vſuall thing for old men to goe in ſuch imploiments.*

Enr. Therefore they proſper much the worſe. They ſend out a few young and ſingle men, that haue little or no experience in the world, and ſo are readier indeed and likelier to ouerthrow then to vphold a Plantation. But thus it ſhould not be, nor hath it beene in former times. Looke but into the Bee-hiues 2. Not vſuall for old men.

when they swarme, and you shall finde, as one saith well, *That the swarme is as old as the stocke*, that is, that there are in it as well old Bees as young. And if you will haue better proofe, call to minde the sacred Histories of blessed father *Abrahams* life, what age hee was of, when hee left his Countrie, his kindred and his fathers house, and went to dwell in the Land of *Canaan*, and you shall finde I warrant you, that hee was threescore and ten yeere old at least, that is elder a good deale then you are yet. And was not *Moses* fourescore yeere old, and his brother *Aaron* foureſcore and three when they lead the children of *Israel* out of *Ægypt*, and *Iosh̃ua* 80. yeere old when he conducted them into the land of *Canaan*? And we may be sure that in that great multitude of 600. thousand at the least, that remoued, there were a number of aged people both men & women. So that you may see, it is no strange thing for those that are well stricken in yeeres, to goe and seeke new Countries.

Butler in his feminine Monar. cap. 5. Num. 3.

Gen. 12. 4. Exod. 7. 7.

Resp. *Old men be fit to goe, but young men me thinkes, be fitter, because they haue none but themselues to care for.*

3. Young men and single not so fit as elder and married men.

Enr. Therefore are they the lesse fit for a Plantation, and old men fitter then they, not onely because of their better experience in the world, their grauitie and authoritie, as I said before, but also because they haue families, and so children vnder them, which will helpe to fill the Plantation apace. But young men and single men, besides the want of experience in them, they can doe little good to the Plantation but in their owne single persons at most. Being vnmaried, if they continue so, they will hurt and hinder the Plantation thereby, which will be no lesse hindred by the vnmaried there, then our land is hindred by the (poore) maried here. If they will marrie, they shall not easily finde with whom, vnlesse it be with the Natiues of those Countries, which haply wil be nor handsome nor wholesome for them; certainly profitable and conuenient (they hauing had no such breeding as our women haue) it cannot be. And when they are maried, long it will be before any fruit of their marriage can be vp to yeeld any force or enlargement to the Plantation: whereas if such as bee already married goe ouer, they hauing children, some more, some lesse, of different ages and growth, they also will

will be able and readie in a little while, some one yeare and some another, to enlarge and fill vp the Plantation, by addition of new families, as it were little new Colonies, euery where. Further, whereas young and single men when they come there, vpon any little dislike, will bee apt and ready to returne and forsake the place, and so comming home againe to discredit the Action, maried men and house-keepers must and will abide: and if haply vpon any occasion, the man himselfe come ouer into *England* now and then, yet he leaues behinde him such a pledge and hostage, I meane his Wife, Children, and Family, for his returne, as may well assure the Countrey that he will not faile, because that now is *absolutely* his home and proper Habitation. Lastly, if any enemy shall assault them, who is likely to sticke close to him, the maried that fights *pro aris & focis*, as they say, for God and his Countrey, for his Wife and Children, with whom and for whom he must and will liue and die, or the single man who fights or rather shifts for himselfe, and therefore will soone either yeeld or runne away, as he shall perceiue to be most for his ease and safetie? In good policie therefore I suppose, it were good and fit that such, that is, maried folkes, and such as haue families, aboue others should be procured and inuited to goe, yea and with some augmentation and reward in Lands or other benefits, aboue single persons, be induced, incouraged, and as it were hired thereunto.

Resp. *I doubt, because I was neuer at Sea before in all my life, that I shall not be able to endure the Seas.*

Ent. 1. The voyage or iourney is not long, not aboue foureteen or fifteene daies saile with a good wind: or if any crosse wind come, not aboue twentie, or one and twentie daies commonly. 4. Hard trauelling by Sea.

2. What hardnesse or difficultie is there of trauelling by Sea, more then at Land? It is rather the easier and pleasanter of the two; vnlesse God send any great tempest, which is not very vsuall all the Summer season, it is of the two, the more pleasant and easie: For there you may sit in your chaire, or lie in your bed at will, and passe along as delicately as, or more delicately, then doe our Gentlemen that ride in their Coach: and bee at your waies end before you be either aware or wearie.

2. Why should you not endure the Seas as well as doe Princes, Noble and Gentle-men and women both, that be of a more tender and delicate breeding and constitution of body then you by farre, who yet, as no doubt you haue often heard, doe yearely and ordinarily paise the Seas to Countries farre and neere.

Resp. *I haue no need to goe: The intendment is for the poorer sort of the Land that haue nothing to trust to, and for my part, I thanke God, I haue a Liuing that is able reasonably well to helpe me and mine.*

5. Of them that haue liuings here.

Enr. 1. The lesse need you haue to goe, the more is our Countrey here beholding vnto you, if you will goe; and the more shall the Country there be beholding to you, if you come thither. For the comming in of one or two that haue some good meanes of their owne, to bring with them is better for it, then of fiue or six that come with little or nothing. 2. The Intendment is for any that will goe whosoeuer. The poorer sort, because they are likeliest to be gotten, though they be chiefly, yet they are not onely intended. 3. And the liuing that you haue here, how long will it hold?

Resp. *As long as my life doth hold, but no longer I grant. But if God giue me time to liue a while, I hope I shall be able to doe somewhat for my children too, and see them all reasonably well prouided to liue, when I am gone.*

Enr. But by your owne saying, if you should die within a little while, (and what Charter haue you of your life more then other men?) You must needs leaue them ill prouided for, and most of them either to the mercy of the world, which is little, or to the courtesie of their friends, which haply will bee lesse. And what need this, when by your remouing you may prouide for them your selfe, and see them in that good state, that they need not be beholding to any others, but rather able to helpe others.

4. Farther, the best prouision you can possibly prouide them here, if you might liue yet these twentie yeares, can be but for their owne time: but remouing as you may, it is very probable, hauing that meanes which you haue now, you may be able to settle both your selfe and euery one of them, though they bee

halfe

halfe a dozen, or halfe a score of them, in as good a Liuing or better, as your Farme that you now dwell vpon, for you and yours, and for them and theirs *in perpetuum*, for euer.

5. Consider also. 1. That it is so hard a matter to place abroad a childe well here, that the placing but of one of your children, may bring you so farre behinde hand, that you may not be able to doe any thing for any other of them in seuen yeares after, there they may all be prouided for in some measure presently. 2. How grieuous and reproachfull a thing it would be to your children, if hauing liued well in your time, they should come to liue in a poore, needie and beggerly fashion. To arise from a poore estate to a richer, is commendable and delectable: but to fall from a good estate to a worse, of all grieuous things it is one of the most grieuous and miserable. 3. Whether it be not an euill thing and vnaduised to put that vpon vncertainties, which a man needs not, but may be assured of, and put out of all doubt.

Resp. *What certaintie can I haue of my life there, more then here?*

Enr. None at all. But of good estate and prouision for you and yours exceeding much more. For whereas though by the course of Nature and present state of your body, you may haply liue yet these ten or twentie yeeres, yet that is exceeding doubtfull and vncertaine. For of one that liues to that age, there bee an hundred that doe not: but that you may liue yet ten, or twelue, or twentie moneths to an end, there is great probabilitie by the helpe of God: and within that time you may haue gotten and setled a good estate in a Plantation to you and yours. For if you liue in the Plantation but one moneth more, if you but once remoue hence, and bee but on ship-board for the Plantation, though you die before you come there, (for I suppose such order will be taken, if euer there be good order taken for a Plantation) you and yours shall enioy, and be assured of the benefit thereof, as well as if you had liued therein seuen yeeres.

4. Last of all consider you well, that the Apostle and Nature too, (for he speaketh according to the Law of Nature) saith, *Fathers must lay vp*, that is, prouide the best they can *for their children*, 2. Cor. 12. 14.

1. Tim. 5. 8. *children, against the time to come: and againe, He that doth not prouide for his owne* (meaning no doubt, if he may doe it, and haue good and fit opportunitie thereto, as you now haue) *and specially for them of his owne house, hee denieth the Faith, and is worse then an Infidell.*

Resp. *You presse me exceeding hard vpon this point, and doe enforce me in manner to consider, which I will doe, God willingly, more deeply vpon it.*

Enr. It was necessarie to presse you hard vpon it, for this is a starting hole, out of the which I knew well enough you would not easily be beaten.

Resp. *You runne away vpon these points I see, as fast as lustie Horses doe with an empsie Cart: but I haue somewhat yet behinde that will lade you better, and finde you more to doe, or else I am much deceiued.*

Enr. What is that? Let vs haue it for Gods sake.

6. It is not vsuall for men that haue liuings here to goe.

Resp. *It is not a thing vsuall for such to goe as haue good liuings here of their owne, as I haue; but for the poorer sort onely, that haue none at all, and therefore what reason haue I to breake the custome?*

Enr. Is this the point you thought would plunge me, or set me a stand? This somethin[illegible] is as much as nothing.

1. Now adaies indeed, and with vs, it is not very vsuall. But in ancient times, when Plantations were better followed then now they are, it was very vsuall, as you may see: the persons of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Iacob*, who were all men of great state, and in the men of *Ioseph*, *Ios.* 17. 14. and in the men of *Iudah*, *Iudg.* 1. almost thorowout. And as I could shew by the practise of many Nations, who vsed when they intended a Plantation, to consider what number it were expedient for them to remoue, and that was vsually one halfe, a third or fourth part of the whole, both great and small, then to cast lots, and as the lot fell so they went away, were they rich or poore, whether they had Liuings or not.

The manner in ancient times, how to raise people for a Plantation.

2. If the custome be otherwise now, that custome may and must bee broken, because it is not good: All good Lawes and Policie intending alwaies this, that *Customes which are good and*

landable

landable onely, should be kept and continued: The other that are not such, as diseases, though of long continuance out of the bodie, should be expelled. Now certaine it is such a custome, that is, that none but the poorer sort should goe ouer, and none of the better sort that haue any Lands or Liuings here, would proue very hurtfull and pestiferous to the Plantation. For who shall be Gouernors and Rulers in the Countrey, as I said the last day, and all men know some there must bee What, poore, needy, and ignorant fellowes, that haue neither learning nor vnderstanding to such a seruice? Doth not very reason shew, that there must goe some of better breeding and experience, *Gentlemen* at the least? And if of them there cannot, as it is likely there will not enow be inuited thither for such imployments, what supply can there be, vnlesse sundry others of a next degree vnto Gentlemen, that is, Yeomen and Yeomenlike men, that haue in them some good knowledge and courage be there to be found, who may in defect of better men, be aduanced to places of preferment and gouernment there, and haply approue not altogether vnworthy thereof?

Further, what shall the poorer sort doe there by themselues without some, and that some store of others better stored in money and meanes then they, that may employ the poorer sort, and set them on worke, whereby they may be able to get money to sustaine them and theirs?

3. And euen in our times, it is not so vnusuall a thing as you seeme to vnderstand it to be: for you may soone learne, if you will but a little inquire; That in our time also, diuers men that had reasonable good meanes and Liuings here, haue remoued into *Ireland*, and planted themselues there to their great good and preferment. And thus you see that the cloake you haue made you of vsage and custome, will doe you as little seruice to couer your backwardnesse, as *Adams* and his wiues aprons made of Fig-leaues to hide their nakednesse.

Resp. *If that be but bad, I haue a better. My wife will not heare* 7. Women are *to goe any whither beyond Sea, and therefore for her sake, though I* vnwilling to *were willing my selfe, I must be content to abide at home, and end* goe. *my daies in England.*

Enr. This indeed is somewhat; I hearkned for it long since. I know it is a point that pincheth many, and makes them more vnwilling then else they would be. Women be vnwilling, and their wiues will not endure to heare of it. Yet this knot is not so hard twisted, but that it may be vntwined I hope. Or, if it be a *Gordian* knot, yet the sword of *Alexander* can hew it in peeces. To this therefore I say thus:

1. Women also haue vnderstanding, and many of them doe vnfainedly feare God. And therefore being well put in minde of their dutie, which is, *To forsake father and friends, and to cleaue vnto their husbands*, and that so inseparably, *That nothing part them but Death*, it is not vnlikely, but that at length they will yeeld, and not vtterly refuse that which they cannot lawfully refuse, how hard soeuer at first it seeme to them to be, and how loth soeuer they are to doe it, if they might lawfully leaue it vndone.

2. They also doe naturally and tenderly loue their children and posteritie, and wish and desire their good. Probable it is therefore, that when they shall thorowly vnderstand, that such a trauaile may, nay will certainly be a meanes to prouide good estates for them and theirs for euer, such as by no possibilitie nor probabilitie are here to be had, they will be perswaded at length to aduenture as the hen to saue her chickens, and the Pellican to feed her young, if need should be, their life and bloud.

Examples of Women.

3. When the examples of worthy Matrones, women of farre greater esteeme and estate then they, that haue done the like, as of the Ladie *Sara* in accompanying *Abraham* from place to place till her dying day, and that sometime with the perill of her life and her chastitie: of Mistresse *Rebecca* in forsaking her fathers house and all her friends, to goe out of *Mesopotamia* into the Land of *Canaan*, to be wife to a man that she had not seene, to *Isaac*, the sonne and heire of *Abraham*, before named; and of *Rahel* and *Leah*, the daughters of *Laban*, that were ready to goe from their fathers with *Iacob* their husband they knew not whither, and others many that in

Sara.

Rebecca.

Rachel.

Leah.

feared

sacred Histories are mentioned, it is likely they will not think themselues too good to doe the like, nor be afraid to imitate them in this fashion.

To these worthy Precedents, I could adde out of humane Histories not a few, worthy imitation and commendation in this case: as namely, Queene *Elianor*, wife to King *Edward* the first, King of *England*, who, her Husband going a long and very dangerous voyage of warfare, *viz.* into the *Holy Land*, would by no meanes be perswaded to tarie at home, but would needs accompany him, saying, *Nothing must part them asunder, whom God hath ioyned together*: And, *The way to heauen is as neere in the Holy Land, as in England.* Queene Elianor.

And that worthy *Spartan* Dame, the wife of *Panteus*, a Noble man in Greece, who being retained by her parents, and other friends by force, that she should not goe with her husband into *Ægypt*, within a while after secretly stole away by night, and got shipping to carrie her to her husband, with whom she continued there cheerefully, and contentedly till his dying day. *Plutarc. in Cleom.*

And it cannot be, but that when they shall see some, and heare of more of their owne Neighbours and Country folkes, English Women as they are, that doe and will goe the same voyages, their example and present practise will be such a speciall Motiue euen to those that be very vnwilling, either to accompany or follow them, assured they shall doe no worse then they doe, as there will not need many more arguments thereto.

4. There be also diuers and sundry causes in consideration whereof, as S. *Paul*. 1 *Cor.* 7. 6. in one case allowes, by consent of both parties, some of them may be borne with for a time, and permitted to remaine behinde, that at the second or third returne of their Husbands, all impediments that at first hindred being removed, they may goe ouer with them also, without any farther delay. 1. Cor. 7. 6.

Fifthly, if any bee vtterly so obstinate and froward or selfe-willed, that no reason, no perswasion, no example seene

or heard of, no reſpect of duty will preuaile with them, there is farther remedy to bee had, that is, that on them bee inflicted *Pœna Deſertricis*, ſuch puniſhment as is fit for thoſe that vtterly and wilfully forſake their husbands.

Reſp. *What penalty or puniſhment is that?*

Enr. That I leaue to thoſe that haue authority, as to inflict it, ſo to appoint it, as they ſhall ſee inſtant and neceſſary occaſion to require. A new kinde of ſinne, may haue a new kinde of puniſhment, as oft, *Ex malis moribus, bonæ leges.* Of euill manners haue riſen vp good lawes.

Reſp. *You haue preſſed me ſo farre, and by your ſpeeches preuailed with me ſo much, that I haue nothing more to ſay for my ſelfe why I ſhould not goe, vnleſſe I ſhould ſay that to you, which ſome haue ſaid to me of late: but I am loth to doe it, leſt you ſhould be offended.*

Enr. What is that? let me haue it I pray you in any wiſe: For it ſhall not offend me, I warrant you.

Reſp. *Seeing you ſo earneſtly and effectually moue me to goe, Why doe not you your ſelfe goe alſo? you that ſo faine would haue others to goe, ſhould alſo goe your ſelfe.*

Enr. You ſhall haue my anſwer thereunto very willingly: that ſo you may the better bee able to anſwer thoſe that goe about that way to ſtop your mouth, and make ſtay or delay for themſelues.

Reſp. *That is the end for which I purpoſely and principally moue the queſtion.*

Enr. My anſwer is this. Firſt, though it be not of neceſſity that euery one muſt goe himſelfe, that perſwadeth or moueth others thereunto: For *Plantation is no matter of our Faith and Saluation:* There may be as great reaſons and iuſt occaſions, why he ſhould not goe, as why they, others whom hee perſwadeth, ſhould goe: yet becauſe no man ſhall take any exception at all againſt me, or my perſwaſions that way, I ſay, *I doe purpoſe*, God willing, *to goe.* And I ſhall thinke my ſelfe happy, if I may bee one of thoſe that may *lay the firſt ſtones of ſuch a building*, and ſpend and end my daies in being one.

The Author himſelfe doth purpoſe God willing to goe into one or other Plantation.

Inſtru-

Inſtrument among the *many thouſands* of our Engliſh Nation, that ſhall betake and beſtow themſelues in ſuch a manner to the enlargement of Gods Church, of the Kings dominions, and of our owne Engliſh habitations. But I ſay withall: Secondly, I cannot goe as yet, becauſe I haue not my meanes and eſtate ſo ſetled and prouided, as it is fit for one that will goe well. Thirdly, if I goe, it ſhall bee (partly) in hope by Gods mercifull prouidence toward me and mine, *to better mine eſtate*, and to doe good, as to others, ſo ſpecially to thoſe that are mine owne, or doe otherwiſe depend vpon me. And therefore I haue no reaſon to goe, till I ſee ſome good likelihood of probability and aſſurance that it may and will be done. Fourthly, I will not goe, by my good will, till I finde ſome good courſe taken for a good Plantation in that place or Country, where my deſire and purpoſe is, aboue any I heare of yet, to plant my ſelfe. When ſome ſuch courſe ſhall be taken and followed effectually, I will not (God willing) be one of the laſt, that ſhall make vſe of it. Fifthly, I ſuppoſe I ought not either to tempt God, by going without good and neceſſary meanes; nor ſeeke my owne deſtruction by running before I am ſent in good order. And therefore expecting a conuenient and appointed time, it is enough that I doe for the preſent prepare my ſelfe to be ready prepared againſt that time, and hauing my minde and affection ſetled that way, doe hearken as the good Souldier for the ſound of the trumpet to the battell, for the publiſhing of that decree, that may rouſe vp all *England* to ſuch an attempt and expedition.

Reſp. *I like your anſwer ſo well, that beſides other good vſes which I ſhall make of it the while, by Gods helpe, whenſoeuer you ſhall goe*, (for I ſee you will not goe but vpon good ground.) *You ſhall haue me ready on reaſonable warning to beare you company. And I doe not thinke, but that you ſhall haue many more of our Neighbours and Acquaintance, that will doe the like.* And many will accompany him.

Eur. The more the merrier, by the grace of God. And I pray God of his loue and goodneſſe to our Nation, and for the furtherance and increaſe of his Goſpell, to vouchſafe to

these actions, and to all that shall goe in them, a happy and speedy proceeding: and to vs in particular, if it be his will that wee shall be partakers in the same, a ioyfull and good successe therein.

Respire. AMEN.

The end of the third and last part, Anno Domini 1624.